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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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## THE MILITANT

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**ATTICA INDICTMENTS MAY FALL:** Alfred Scotti, the new special Attica prosecutor, has requested that all but one of the remaining Attica indictments be dropped. "The amply demonstrated lack of fairness and evenhandedness by the state in the conduct of the Attica investigation compels, in the interests of justice, the dismissal of these pending indictments," he said. He added that evidence "strongly suggests unjustifiable homicides" and "endangerment" were committed by police in retaking the prison after an uprising in 1971.

In the initial investigation, Scotti said, the police were able to cover up their crimes, making their prosecution nearly impossible. However, he added, he is considering seeking indictments of two cops—one for killing an inmate, the other for obstruction of the Attica investigation.

**PROTEST REPRESSION IN ARGENTINA:** A demonstration demanding the release of all political prisoners and an end to right-wing terror and murders in Argentina is scheduled for March 13 in New York. The noon picket line in front of the Argentine consulate was initiated by the Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People (SCAP). Cosponsors include the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, North American Congress on Latin America, Action for Women in Chile, Comité Chileno Antifascista, Movimiento Antimperialista por el Socialismo en Argentina, and the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

The action will publicize the Argentine government's policy of suppressing democratic rights and giving carte blanche to fascistlike organizations such as the AAA (Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticomunist Alliance). A retired Argentine army lieutenant has testified that the Peronist government organized and financed the AAA, which has taken credit for hundreds of murders of radicals in the past two years.

**CAMEJO ON TV:** The Public Broadcasting Service television show "USA: People and Politics" will present an eleven-minute feature on Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo. PBS recently filmed Camejo during two days of campaigning in Boston. The show is scheduled to be aired on March 15 at 8:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time.

**JUNTA FRAME-UPS:** The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is calling for protests on March 21 against frame-up trials in Chile. The Chilean junta plans to try several leaders of the Unidad Popular government at the end of March. The trials, to be held before a naval court, involve charges of "subversion" against Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Chilean Communist party; Andrés Sepulveda, deputy, Socialist party; Pedro Felipe Ramírez, a leader of the Christian Left party; and others.

Verdicts and sentences have already been rigged. For example, the junta is demanding two sentences for Corvalán—life imprisonment and ninety-seven years for "minor crimes." In New York, USLA and the Chile Solidarity Committee will hold a noon picket at Town Hall where a pro-junta Chilean singing group will be performing.

**CALIFORNIA ELECTION LAWS:** On February 26 the California State Senate passed a bill to liberalize one of the state's restrictive election laws. If approved by the California Assembly and Gov. Edmund Brown, independent candidates would have sixty days in July and August to collect 187,000 signatures instead of twenty-five days to collect 320,000 as now required. The bill, AB 52, also eliminates the requirement that signers cannot have voted in the primary.

Byron Ackerman, California secretary of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), told the *Militant*, "This bill was passed as a result of increasing pressure on the state government to open up the California ballot." While AB 52 would be a step forward, Ackerman said, "it would still leave California with the most undemocratic election laws in the country." CoDEL is sponsoring a suit challenging the requirement that a new party collect 640,000 signatures or register 64,000 voters into the party to gain ballot status.

**BRITISH OUT!**: The Los Angeles-area Friends of Ireland will hold their fifth annual Irish Freedom March on Saturday, March 13. Organized in solidarity with the Irish independence struggle, the march will assemble at 11:00 a.m. at the foot of Wilshire Boulevard in Santa Monica and proceed to the office of the British consul general at 3701 Wilshire in Los Angeles.

**NO JUSTICE FOR BLACK WOMEN:** Dessie X Woods and Cheryl Todd have been sentenced to twelve years and to eighteen months in prison, respectively. These two Black women have been fighting for justice in Georgia since last June, when they defended themselves against a white

salesman who tried to sexually assault them. After a struggle, the man lay dead from a wound inflicted by his own gun.

Twice the jurors told the judge that they were hopelessly deadlocked. Twice Judge James O'Connor sent them back to deliberations until they finally convicted Woods of manslaughter and armed robbery and Todd of "theft by taking." After the verdict was read, Dessie X Woods shouted at the jurors, "You let them trick you. . . . You know we didn't murder nobody. . . . Black people have never got no justice." The defense plans to appeal.

**STUDENTS BACK CINCINNATI PROFESSORS:** The American Association of University Professors has been picketing at the University of Cincinnati administration building. The AAUP has been trying to negotiate a contract for the 1,400 UC faculty members since 1974. The professors are demanding a one-year contract with a 17 percent salary increase, job security, and faculty control over academic priorities.

Students are beginning to organize against the administration's divisive lie that severe fee hikes and cutbacks must result if faculty demands are met. Dr. James Hall, local AAUP president, encouraged student support at a February 19 forum sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee to Support the AAUP. The meeting, which drew seventy-five people, launched a student petitioning drive to back the faculty struggle.

**MEETING PROTESTS NCLC ATTACKS:** Two hundred people attended a February 21 meeting in Seattle to protest the right-wing activities of the National Caucus of Labor Committees. The NCLC, which runs candidates under the name U.S. Labor party, has evolved from a radical sect into a small fascistlike organization. In the name of socialism, the NCLC spews racist, sexist, and antiunion policies.

The NCLC has physically assaulted the meetings and members of radical groups across the country. In Washington State, the NCLC is seeking to implicate radical groups and individuals in a series of recent Seattle bombings. The group is demanding that the legislature convene a McCarthy-style witch-hunt committee to investigate "terrorism." Prior to February 21, the NCLC tried to finger the forum organizers as "terrorists" in an attempt to convince a local church to deny the use of its facilities for the meeting. A collective associated with the Left Bank Bookstore, which initiated the meeting, and other radical groups organized a united defense guard to prevent possible NCLC disruption. The protest meeting decided to plan ongoing united defense efforts against attacks from this reactionary outfit.

—Ginny Hildebrand



## Special Offer For New Readers

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## Socialist candidates urge:

# 'All out May 16 for passage of ERA!'

[The following statement is by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.]

We join with supporters of women's rights across the country this March 8 in celebrating International Women's Day.

The teach-ins, demonstrations, and rallies commemorating International Women's Day take place in the midst of an intensified drive to roll back the gains women have won through struggle:

- Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is in danger;
- The Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion is under massive attack;
- Unemployment is throwing disproportionate numbers of women and Blacks out of work;
- Government cutbacks in social services are hitting women, Blacks, and the poor the hardest.

The March 8 protests are an opportunity to begin organizing the kind of movement needed to defend women's rights. A central focus of these actions is winning the ERA.

The enemies of the women's movement—with the backing of the John Birch Society, the Catholic church hierarchy, antibusing racists, and other reactionary forces—have chosen the ERA as a prime target in their campaign to keep women "in their place."

The well-heeled STOP ERA forces have organized a slick, nationally coordinated drive that succeeded in defeating state referenda on the ERA in New York and New Jersey last November. Thus far in 1976, they have killed the ERA in two states—Virginia and Arizona.

Four more states must ratify the ERA by 1979, or the amendment will die.

A massive, national campaign of demonstrations, speak-outs, rallies, and educational activities to counter the mobilization of the right wing is urgently needed.

Without such a mass-action campaign the ERA will go down in defeat.

The overwhelming majority of the American people, men and women alike, support the ERA. Recent polls show backers of the ERA outnumbering opponents by more than two to one.

If this support is mobilized into action, we can turn the tide against the right-wing forces who claim to speak for a "silent majority."

These International Women's Day actions can be a stepping stone to building the biggest possible turnout for the May 16 national demonstration in Springfield, Illinois. This demonstration has been initiated by the National Organization for Women, which is urging ERA supporters from all over the country to converge on Springfield that day to demand ratification of the ERA.

The May 16 action has the potential to unite thousands of women, trade unionists, Blacks, students, and others in a powerful show of strength for women's rights. It can serve as a warning to the



WILLIE MAE REID



PETER CAMEJO

STOP ERA forces and the government that we have no intention of sitting back and allowing them to trample on the rights of women.

We appeal to members of unions, of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the NAACP, and campus groups to join with NOW in making this march set the example for the kind of ongoing struggle that can win the ERA.

The unions have a special responsibility in the ERA struggle.

The opposition to the ERA is virulently anti-abortion, anti-Black, and anti-union. The STOP ERA leaders piously preach about their concern for the "right to life" for fetuses while clamoring for restoration of the death penalty. They are the campaigners for union-busting right-to-work laws and against "greedy" labor unions. They are part of the racist antibusing mobs who would deny Black students the right to an equal education.

These forces stand on the side of everything that is against the interests of working people. They must be stopped.

We pledge to speak out in support of the ERA throughout our campaign, and we challenge our opponents in the 1976 elections to do the same.

Two of the capitalist candidates—Wallace and Reagan—openly oppose ratification of the ERA. Their reactionary stand is echoed by the candidates of the Stalinist Communist party, Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

The Democrats and Republicans who give formal endorsements to the ERA have refused to support the kind of action campaign that is needed to win ratification.

Instead, they have urged women to stay out of the streets and rely on lobbying and electing "good" Democrats and Republicans. This strategy of

keeping a "low profile" and trusting in capitalist politicians has led to defeat for the ERA in state after state.

Our strength lies not in the promises of capitalist politicians, but in our numbers, mobilized in massive, independent actions that have the power to force those four remaining states to ratify the ERA.

In 1976, we cannot subordinate the fight for the ERA to the election of any Democrat or Republican. Nor can we look to the capitalist candidates to safeguard the right to abortion.

In the face of a mounting right-wing campaign against abortion, spearheaded by the Catholic church hierarchy, the liberal Democrats who claim to favor abortion rights have been cowed into silence or capitulation. Meanwhile, President Ford brazenly states his opposition to the Supreme Court decision making the right to abortion the law of the land.

These actions have emboldened the anti-abortion groups and their presidential candidate, Democrat Ellen McCormack, who has already raised enough money to qualify for federal election funding out of our tax dollars.

The attacks on abortion, like the assault on the ERA, must not go unanswered. Women and their allies need to carry out an aggressive campaign to counter the lies and mobilizations of the so-called right-to-life forces, or they could succeed in overturning the Supreme Court decision.

A large, militant demonstration for the ERA on May 16 will be a powerful answer to both the opponents of the ERA and the enemies of women's right to choose abortion. On May 16 we must make our voices loud and clear: "Two hundred years without equal rights is enough! Ratify the ERA!"

## New York rally hits repression in Iran

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—Three hundred people attended a February 26 meeting at Columbia University on "Repression in Iran," a country described by one speaker as having "the worst record on human rights in the world."

The event was sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). The featured speaker was Dr. Reza Baraheni, who is Iran's most prominent modern poet and literary critic and is now living in exile after having spent 102 days in the shah's prisons in 1973.

Baraheni was released and allowed to leave the country after protests from organizations such as Amnesty International; the International Association of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists (PEN); and CAIFI.

Other speakers included former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark; Eric Bentley, playwright and literary critic; Ivan Morris, head of the board of Amnesty International, USA; Muriel Rukeyser, president of the American Center of PEN; Prof. Ajaz Ahmad of Rutgers University; and Bahram Atai, a national field secretary of CAIFI.

Referring to the long history of U.S. support to the shah since he was installed as dictator by a CIA coup in 1953, Baraheni said, "Americans should know that support to the shah is support to an illegal government that throttles all human rights."

He reported that there are 100,000 political prisoners in the shah's jails, and that executions during the past three years have averaged two a week.

In January 1976 alone, eleven people were officially executed and eight



DR. REZA BARAHENI: Exiled after imprisonment and torture by shah's secret police.

others killed in "shoot-outs" with the police.

Baraheni told of his experience in prison at the hands of the SAVAK, Iran's U.S.-trained political police.

"The torture is unavoidable," he said. "On the second day of my imprisonment I was strapped on a bed and given seventy-five blows with a wire whip on the bottom of my feet."

He described the other methods of torture meted out to political prisoners: electric shock; rape; enemas with boiling water; plucking of the nails and teeth; an electrically wired iron bed designed to burn the person placed on it; and pressing of the skull in a vise, sometimes until it breaks.

He described how one young girl, five or six years old, was beaten so that she would disclose the identity of

*Continued on page 30*

# What will women lose?

# The ERA & 'protective' legislation

By Ginny Hildebrand

One of the controversial issues in the debate over the Equal Rights Amendment is how the ERA would affect "protective legislation."

Protective laws regulate working conditions for women. They establish such things as maximum hours of work, weight-lifting limitations, and meal-break times, and bar women from holding certain jobs.

One of the charges against the ERA is that it would erase all of these laws and deny women special protection they need on the job.

Some of these laws are indeed beneficial to women and should be extended to male workers as well. But many protective laws serve only to hold women back. To understand the contradictory nature of this legislation, we need to look at the origins of the protective laws.

Most of the protective laws were passed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as part of the working-class struggles for shorter workdays, higher pay, and other demands. These laws were seen, at the time, as a way to curb some of the most ruthless employer practices against women workers.

Laws setting maximum hours, for example, were aimed at preventing the boss from working women until they literally dropped from exhaustion. Such laws, of course, were needed for both men and women.

But because these laws applied only to women, setting them off in a special category, employers were able to use them as a tool not for protecting women, but for discriminating against them.

The protective laws could be used as an excuse for not hiring women in higher-paying job categories. At the same time, they failed to protect women in the lowest-paying jobs.

Thus a 1910 protective law barred women from being hotel clerks at night, but placed no restrictions on women scrubbing floors all night in the same hotel.

Protective laws setting maximum weights women could lift were used as an excuse to keep them out of some jobs, but no laws touched women working in strenuous jobs in hospitals or on farms.

The protective laws also barred women from becoming miners, bartenders, crossing watchmen, section hands, or express drivers. They served to justify the labeling of jobs as "men only" or "women only."

## Pattern of discrimination

The pattern is clear: when a law "protects" only one section of the work force—in this case women—its primary effect can be to discriminate, rather than benefit.

This is precisely how the more privileged, conservative union officials viewed the protective laws. As the president of the International Cigarmakers Union stated in 1879: "We cannot drive the females out of the trade, but we can restrict this daily quota of labor through factory laws."

The right-wing, anti-ERA forces, however, misrepresent the protective laws, passing all such laws off as gains women will lose if the ERA becomes law. STOP ERA leader Phyllis Schlafly, for example, insists that the ERA will downgrade working conditions for women because protective legislation "will be wiped out in one stroke of the pen."

New York anti-ERA leader Annette Stern, of Operation Wake-Up, argues that the woman worker needs protective laws because "she is the only one that carries the responsibility of pregnancy, childbirth, child nursing, and



Women have been locked into tedious, stereotyped 'women's jobs.' This discrimination has often been enforced by so-called protective legislation.

usually the larger share of child rearing. . . . She is entitled to certain rights and protections for herself and the children she bears and rears."

It is true that in our society, women are forced to bear almost total responsibility for these tasks. But the protective laws don't facilitate these tasks one bit. For all their praise of protective laws, the anti-ERA forces fail to point out that these laws don't provide maternity benefits—a protection women *do* need. The Supreme Court has ruled that states denying disability benefits for normal pregnancies are not in violation of the Constitution.

## Hypocrisy

Stern's mention of child rearing is particularly hypocritical because the anti-ERA forces are notorious opponents of child-care facilities.

These reactionary groups have no genuine concern for protecting women workers or their children—they simply want to uphold the oppressive social norms about family roles that compel women to remain in the home.

The backward views of the Sterns and Schlaflys find an echo in the Communist party, which also opposes the ERA. In the October 25, 1975, issue of their paper, the *Daily World*, the

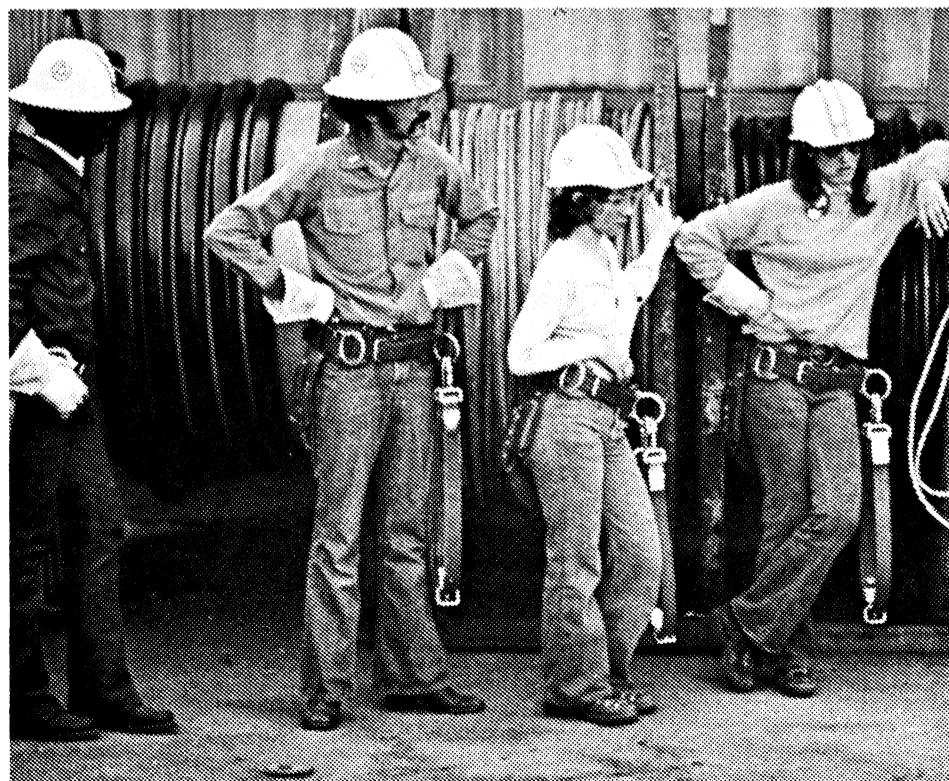
Stalinists justify their opposition by claiming that "protections beneficial to women under present law could be wiped out, and the passage of special compensatory laws relating to women or men may be declared illegal. . . ."

While the Stalinists agree that men as well as women need protective labor laws, their reactionary support for the idea that women are more frail and have special duties in the home still seeps through. The *Daily World* emphasizes a need for "special laws protecting women workers including weight lifting maximums" and "overtime limits so families will not suffer."

The anti-ERA forces received a big blow when the AFL-CIO reversed its position of opposition to the amendment in 1973. It did this under pressure of the growing sentiment for equality in the ranks of union women.

The new AFL-CIO resolution stated that the ERA is "precisely the kind of clear statement of national commitment to the principle of equality of the sexes under the law that working women and their unions can use to advantage in their efforts to eliminate employment discrimination against women."

In passing the resolution, the AFL-CIO took up the question of protective laws, pointing out that many of these laws were already being wiped away or



As women break into new jobs they are disproving myths about their inferior abilities. The ERA can help in struggle for better job opportunities.

altered as a result of other civil rights legislation.

In 1969 the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) established guidelines that declared most protective laws in violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. That law included a prohibition against sex discrimination in employment. The EEOC guidelines were drawn up under the pressure of working women filing complaints against job discrimination.

By 1972, one-third of the states had totally or substantially repealed their protective laws. Lower courts also took a hand in adjusting the laws.

Some of these laws have been changed to extend genuinely beneficial provisions to cover men as well. These have included extending overtime wage laws and weight-lifting limitations.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, which made recommendations on the ERA, felt the pressure of women and men unionists on the question of extending rather than erasing the positive aspects of protective laws.

Thus the committee's majority report on the ERA states, ". . . such restrictive discriminatory labor laws as those which bar women entirely from certain occupations will be invalid. But those laws which confer a special benefit, which offer real protection, will, it is expected, be extended to protect both men and women. Examples of laws which may be expanded include laws providing for rest periods or minimum wage benefits or health and safety protections."

This Senate report reflects what is the most important factor that will determine the future of the ERA and the protective laws—the power of the women's rights movement and the unions.

The ERA was passed by Congress fifty years after it was first introduced only because there was a growing, militant struggle by women for their liberation.

A continuation of this struggle is needed to win final ratification of the ERA, to fight for its implementation, and to extend those protective laws that benefit women and men.

The employers and the government can be counted on to do everything in their power to thwart implementation of the ERA, if it is ratified, just as they have thrown obstacles in the way of ratification. One of their tricks has been to sow divisions over the protective laws. They tell women, you can have your ERA or you can have the protective laws, but you can't have both.

We cannot allow the rulers of this country to choose for us which rights we will and won't have and when we can get them.

To oppose the ERA in order to "save" the protective laws is an utterly defeatist strategy, a capitulation to the opponents of women's rights. It is an attempt to run away from the fight against sex discrimination, which is used to divide working people.

We can never win a victory around extending the protective legislation to men on the basis of a defeat of the ERA.

But a victory for the ERA will be a major step forward for both women and men. It will make it easier to press forward on other issues in the interests of workers, including beneficial protective laws.

This is one more reason we have to begin today to mobilize the majority pro-ERA sentiment among feminists, unionists, Blacks, students, and all who support equality for women. These are the forces that have the power to determine if and how the ERA will be implemented.

## 'Friends of the FBI' exposed

# SWP answers 'terrorist' smear

By Larry Seigle

Right-wing supporters of FBI and CIA spying took another stab at their critics February 29, with the publication of a 472-page Senate Internal Security Subcommittee report entitled "Trotskyite Terrorist International."

The report was released by subcommittee Chairman Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) and Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), both of whom are notorious enemies of the labor movement, civil rights, and civil liberties.

The volume contains documents and testimony supposedly "based on a thorough study" of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance. It is a crude attempt to smear the YSA and SWP as terrorists. But its release at this time is also aimed at a broader target.

A news release accompanying the report said: "Thurmond . . . , who presided over the hearing, pointed out that the report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence [the Pike committee] had attacked the F.B.I. for its investigation of the Socialist Workers Party. According to the Pike Committee Report, which was leaked to the *Village Voice* by Daniel Schorr, 'The S.W.P. is a highly law-abiding group.'

Senator Thurmond stated, "We have a strong hearing record showing that the S.W.P. is a part of the terrorist Fourth International. While the S.W.P. says it is opposed to terrorism in this country now, they do not rule it out in the future. . . ."

Die-hard witch-hunters like Thurmond are furious over the Pike committee's finding that the FBI has absolutely no justification for its thirty years of harassment and spying on the SWP.

The publication of this new "investigation" is designed to undercut the Pike committee report itself and to counter growing demands for a halt to the FBI's war against dissenters.

It is part of a well-orchestrated campaign to shift the focus of public debate away from the FBI's crimes and onto the supposed crimes of its victims. It goes hand in hand with the furor against Daniel Schorr, the reporter who made the Pike committee report public, and with President Ford's attempts to make it illegal for government officials to tell the American people the truth about so-called national security matters.

### The 'investigator'

To make its case against the SWP, the Eastland subcommittee called forth one Herbert Romerstein. Romerstein used to work as an "investigator" for the House Un-American Activities Committee, until that discredited relic was disbanded in the aftermath of Watergate.

Since then, Romerstein has hired on as a "consultant" to a group called "Friends of the FBI." This group was formed in 1973 to counter public criticism of the bureau. Among the founding friends was Efrem Zimbalist, Jr., star of the now-defunct television series "The FBI."

Romerstein told the subcommittee that the FBI's friends are "interested in bringing to public attention information on some of the groups that are attacking the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They have been particularly interested in the Socialist Workers Party, which has filed a series of lawsuits against the Government. . . ."

He complained that the "SWP has been successful to some extent in forcing the FBI to curtail its activities of surveillance of the Socialist Workers Party. The courts have turned over to the Socialist Workers Party classified government documents relating to

previous surveillance, and the FBI counterintelligence program."

After this prologue, Romerstein proceeded to present his case against the SWP. Here are some samples of his "facts":

- The SWP helped organize the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, an organization set up to tell the truth about the Cuban revolution and to oppose U.S. attempts to overthrow it. This is proof, according to Romerstein, of SWP participation in "Castroite operations."

- The SWP was "a major force in the so-called peace movement." This movement, said Romerstein, supported "Communist terrorism" in Vietnam. Thus anyone who marched against the war was aiding terrorism. Naturally.

- The SWP supports the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, an organization that aids victims of political repression in Latin America. This proves that the SWP supports "terrorism in Latin America." Why? Because the prisoners the groups aids are "captured terrorists."

### International 'terror'

- The SWP "supports the terror in Ireland." Proof: "They generally support the Irish republican cause."

- The SWP aids terrorists in Puerto Rico. Proof: The SWP has "had close associations with" the Puerto Rican Socialist party, which Romerstein said is "the cover organization for Puerto Rican terrorist operations."

- Worst of all, Romerstein charged, "the Socialist Workers Party makes quite a to-do about its participation in election campaigns. . . . They make it very clear that they operate in election campaigns, but not in good faith!" (It isn't clear if Romerstein thought making a "to-do" about elections and failing to campaign in "good faith" ought to be considered criminal acts. If so, Congress could begin by turning itself in.)

The "proof" of bad faith is that Jack Barnes, who is now national secretary of the SWP, gave a report in 1966 in which he said, "We use our campaign for the openings it gives us in the press and radio, the opportunity to reach the ears of millions of Americans. . . . We recognize and explain that no socialist in this period runs campaigns to get votes or to have a serious chance for victory."

This incriminating speech, Romerstein informed the committee, was uncovered in a "confidential educational bulletin of the Young Socialist Alliance." In fact, this "confidential" bulletin is included in a book entitled *Aspects of Socialist Election Policy*, available for \$1.35 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.



WITCH-HUNTERS THURMOND (left) AND EASTLAND: Trying to counter growing criticism of FBI.



Romerstein's entire testimony is on this level. His "evidence" consists of information culled from the *Militant* and other public sources; excerpts from "secret Trotskyite internal documents," which turn out to be bulletins circulated to the membership of the SWP and YSA and available to scholars and libraries; quotations from Lenin and Trotsky and from SWP leaders, torn from context to prove Marxists favor "minority violence"; and other plain fabrications.

In a statement issued in response to the report, SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo declared, "This report proves conclusively that the witch-hunters have not one single fact, not one shred of evidence, of a single illegal act by the SWP."

"Romerstein offered his 'facts' in secret session, with only Thurmond and his staff present. This concocted testimony would crumble to dust under public scrutiny."

Camejo noted that "the Pike committee considered the same kind of evidence, compiled by the FBI, in a public hearing. It concluded that 'the Socialist Workers are a legitimate American political party' and that the FBI had been unable to offer any evidence of illegal activities whatsoever."

### Riddled with errors

For all the pretense at careful compilation of facts, Romerstein's testimony is riddled with absurd fabrications.

For example, Camejo is of Venezuelan descent, a fact included in his campaign literature. Romerstein, however, insists that Camejo's parents are Argentines. Why? No doubt to "prove" a connection between the SWP and guerrillas in Argentina.

Equally absurd is Romerstein's contention that the SWP doesn't criticize the Communist party publicly. Why does he make this fantastic statement, which anyone who has even the slightest familiarity with the Trotsky-

ist movement will know is false?

Because it helps "prove" that the SWP is really part of the so-called Communist Conspiracy. Romerstein explained that the SWP doesn't "like to publicly criticize the Communists when they are trying to collaborate with them."

But these small lies merely set the pattern for the big ones.

### Voorhis Act

Romerstein expended a great deal of energy to prove that the SWP is in violation of the Voorhis Act because of its relationship with the Fourth International (FI), the international Trotskyist organization.

The facts here are simple. The Voorhis Act, passed in 1940, imposes prohibitive restrictions on groups in this country belonging to international political organizations such as the FI.

The SWP played a major part in founding the international in 1938, and was its American section. But when this reactionary law was passed, the SWP had no choice but to disaffiliate from the international. Since then, the SWP has collaborated with socialists around the world on a fraternal basis, but not as an affiliated section of the FI.

Romerstein submitted extensive proof that members of the SWP have attended and participated in meetings of the international. But what Romerstein "proved" isn't illegal. It isn't secret either.

In connection with the SWP's suit against the government, Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, submitted a sworn statement describing in detail the SWP's participation in meetings of the FI. This statement is on the public record and is available to anyone, but our investigator neglected to introduce it as evidence.

Barnes explained that SWP members participate in meetings of the FI on a consultative basis. He also said that SWP members travel abroad "to speak publicly and/or to exchange opinions on the present state of the world labor, socialist, women's liberation and colonial independence movements." Also, "Many visitors from other countries have met with leading members of the SWP."

But this doesn't prevent Romerstein from offering such statements as, "The Socialist Workers Party claims that it is not part of the Fourth International, it only has fraternal relations. Yet at [the 1973] closed convention of the Socialist Workers' Party, open to no one but diehard members, two persons from the Fourth International came and were permitted to participate in the discussion."

What a crime! The presence of international observers at this convention was such a state secret that it was reported in the *Militant*. (Incidentally, Romerstein is wrong here, as he is so often on factual matters. There were

*Continued on page 30*



Right-wingers charge Socialist Workers party role in organizing antiwar movement proves SWP is terrorist because 'so-called peace movement' really supported 'Communist terrorism' in Vietnam.

## Military rule continues

# Portuguese parties, MFA sign new pact

By Gerry Foley  
From Intercontinental Press

The Portuguese bourgeois and reformist parties signed a new "constitutional pact" with the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) February 26. The major signatories were the Communist party, the Socialist party, the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—Democratic People's party), and the Centro Democrático Social (CDS—Social Democratic Center).

The CP, SP, and the liberal-bourgeois PPD have participated in the popular-front coalitions collaborating with the MFA since the fall of the Caetano regime. The CDS is a rightist party that has not participated in the government coalitions but has functioned as a reactionary, more or less loyal, opposition to the MFA.

The new pact, according to *New York Times* correspondent Marvin Howe, was designed to "end military rule and establish a democratic system." That claim no doubt echoes the propaganda line of the MFA and its collaborators. It is clearly false.

If the military wanted to withdraw from politics, it would simply do so without obliging the parties to sign a new pact. The very fact that a new formal agreement between the MFA and the parties has been imposed signifies that the military is hanging on to its role of arbiter in Portuguese political life.

### Substantial retreat

On the other hand, the provisions of the new pact as reported in the February 27 *New York Times* seem to represent a substantial retreat by the MFA from earlier proposals. For example, a report on the pact negotiations in the January 16 issue of the Lisbon daily *O Diário* indicated that the military was demanding that the office of president be reserved for an armed forces commander. According to this scheme, the president was to have the power to declare war and make peace, proclaim a state of siege or emergency, and dissolve the legislative assembly.

With the approval of the Council of the Revolution, the leading body of the MFA, moreover, the president would have had veto power over all legislation concerning economic, social, and financial policy; over legislation "defining the public sector" (that is, nationalizations and expropriations); relations with other countries; military affairs; and "regulating the exercise of political freedoms."

Whereas, Howe wrote:

"Under the new agreement, the Council of the Revolution has abdicated its powers to veto the choice of president, to define the broad lines of domestic and foreign policy, to rule on the constitutionality of laws and decrees and to legislate in civilian matters. The council will function in the future essentially as an advisory body to the president."

In fact, the military may very well be able to manage Portuguese politics more effectively from a formal position of "adviser" than from one of being directly responsible for decisions.

For a period, the establishment of an assembly of the MFA as a whole and of MFA assemblies in the various services was necessary. The mass upsurge and the political weakness and divisions of the bourgeoisie left the MFA tops suspended virtually in midair. They had to try to ride the wave of radicalization while retaining the essential underpinnings of capitalism and bourgeois state authority.

Thus, the MFA leaders had to extend their direct political network in the armed forces and to develop a sounding board, as well as gain some



Militant/Della Rossa

Way forward for Portuguese workers and peasants lies not through reliance on 'progressive' military but through uniting to defend own interests.

legitimacy by seeming to reflect the political process going on in the country. Nonetheless, the form had its dangers, since the direct involvement of the military caste in politics is in the long run fatal to its unity and hierarchical discipline.

### New formula

The new formula for constituting the Council of the Revolution reflects the same political need for appearing representative of the armed forces as a whole, but its scope has been narrowed to something more resembling the standard military junta. According to Howe: "It will be composed of the president of the republic, the armed forces' chief of staff and the deputy chief, the chiefs of staff of the army, air force and navy, the prime minister (if he is a military man), and eight officers delegated by the army, three by the air force and three by the navy."

Both the CP and the SP leaderships have explicitly accepted the proposition that some degree of military tutelage is necessary to guarantee "revolutionary order."

The bourgeois parties have expressed stronger reservations about military rule for various reasons. In the first place, their rightist clientele was reluctant to accept many of the concessions the military was forced to make to the mass movement. Moreover, up to now the bourgeois parties have been in a distinct minority, and it has been necessary for them to assert a measure of independence from the government in order to build an electoral following.

Furthermore, the fact that the CP and SP leaderships have been committed to maintaining military tutelage has made "democracy" a profitable issue for the right.

To a large extent, the bourgeois military can afford to step back, because the disastrous policies of the CP and SP have led to growth of rightist sentiment. For many months the Portuguese press has been referring to government polls that allegedly show that the bourgeois parties would win a majority in new elections.

Most observers in Portugal expect the government based on the upcoming legislative elections to be a continuation of the "center-left" popular front. But it is also expected that the

government will be under strong pressure from a large rightist opposition led by the CDS representing more than a quarter of the total vote. Such an outcome would provide a favorable context for a continuation of the gradual restoration of bourgeois "law and order" by the government and the military and for the preparation of more determined attacks on the workers movement.

### Striking change

This represents a striking change from the period of the Constituent Assembly elections in the spring of 1975, in which the workers parties won a substantial overall majority.

This change was illustrated February 6 when the CDS held its first mass rally in Lisbon. The event reportedly drew about 15,000 persons. The Campo Pequeno stadium where it was held was ringed by the riot police, who are now heavily armed with, among other things, "crowd-control" armored cars mounted with machine guns facing in three directions. The pretext for this display of force was a counter-demonstration organized by the Maoist União Democrática do Povo (UDP—People's Democratic Union), which drew a crowd about one-tenth the size of the CDS gathering.

Since they are incapable of mobilizing the workers to fight for a socialist program, based on class independence and beginning with the immediate needs of the masses, the reformist workers parties remain, to varying degrees, the prisoners of the less and less "progressive" military, which they present as the only hope to block the advance of the right. In this, the left wing of the SP suffers from the greatest contradictions, since it looks to the military to defend both democratic rights and the economic and social gains of the masses.

The series of crises that began last May has demonstrated again the counterrevolutionary results of a workers party trying to hitch its wagon to "progressive" officers or to substitute "influence" in the military for winning and organizing the masses in independent class struggle.

The most sophisticated representative of the U.S. ruling class, the *New York Times*, hailed the new pact in an editorial February 29: "It is significant that only the Communists and their

allies, painfully aware that they cannot win an election, wanted the military to retain political power."

Actually the popularity of the CP first and then the SP declined because they proved loyal to the bourgeoisie and not to the workers they claim to represent. And this commitment to bourgeois "order" was reflected by their subordination to military rule. This fundamental decision led to a whole chain of developments, such as deteriorating living standards and coups and counter coups, that alienated large sections of the masses.

### Cling to military

The result has been a vicious circle where the large reformist workers parties have been trying to defend their positions by clinging to increasingly discredited military rule, while the resurgent right, which aims at repressing the mass movement, has been rallying growing support with calls for "democratic government."

According to Howe, there was pushing and shoving up to the last minute in the negotiations over the new pact.

However, for the moment, the military has every reason to make formal concessions on governmental powers, as a sly politician like President Costa Gomes no doubt realized. With the military government so discredited, it is wise to let the civilian parties take the responsibility for a while for unpopular policies.

Such a retreat by the military and concessions to the principles of representative government have their dangers. However, the apparent growing mass following for the bourgeois parties reduces these risks and makes such a maneuver possible.

However, there are signs of regroupment of the working class on the trade-union level, with a widening split between SP unionists and the government. That could open the way for an advance in union organization and militancy, which is precisely what the Portuguese bourgeoisie, now practically without reserves, can least afford.

Whatever maneuvers the Portuguese rulers try, the Portuguese revolutionists can best meet them by tirelessly explaining the need for the workers and toilers to unite to defend their own interests and not to rely on either the "progressive" bourgeoisie or the "progressive" military.

# Resistance growing in southern Africa

By Ernest Harsch

From Intercontinental Press

After Angola, what next?

This is the question being voiced by government officials and commentators in Washington and the other major imperialist capitals following the failure of the American and South African intervention in the Angolan civil war. It reflects a deep concern over the consequences of that setback on American and European interests outside Angola's borders.

The impact of the setback in Angola will be most immediately felt in the countries of southern Africa still ruled by white colonial-settler regimes: Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), South Africa, and Namibia (South-West Africa), which is occupied by South Africa.

The failure of the imperialist intervention in Angola showed the oppressed Black masses of those countries that Washington and Pretoria—the principal bulwarks of white rule in southern Africa—are not invincible. The antiwar sentiment among Americans, particularly among Blacks, was a major factor in limiting the White House's ability to carry out its intervention.

This failure can only encourage the Black populations of southern Africa to press ahead with their struggles against the last bastions of white colonial rule. It is this prospect that particularly worries the imperialist powers.

In a speech in mid-February, British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan warned that "southern Africa is sliding into a most dangerous situation."

The consensus among British rulers appears to be that the white settler regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia is the most immediately endangered. The country is still formally a British colony, although the settlers unilaterally declared "independence" from Britain in 1965 in a bid to avoid losing their privileges and power to the nearly six million Blacks.

Of all the white regimes in southern Africa, the Smith regime is the weakest. The 250,000 whites are outnumbered by Blacks by more than 20 to 1.

### Zimbabwe struggle sharpens

Since the mid-1960s, Zimbabwean resistance to continued white rule has increased considerably. Guerrilla campaigns were launched in the rural areas. In 1972 mass protests, strikes, and rallies swept the major cities in opposition to a proposed settlement reached between Smith and London that would have given the country its formal independence from Britain while at the same time entrenching the white supremacist regime in power. The Zimbabweans demand independence under Black majority rule.

One of Smith's major allies, the Portuguese colonial administration in neighboring Mozambique, was forced to abandon that country in 1975, further isolating the Rhodesian whites. News reports over the past few months have cited a step-up in recruitment of guerrilla forces by the Zimbabwean nationalists. Thousands of guerrillas are reported to be undergoing training in Mozambique and Zambia. On February 26, hundreds of Africans demonstrated in the Rhodesian capital of Salisbury.

British Minister of State David Ennals warned February 19 of "the fearful prospects of a bloodbath in Rhodesia." An editorial on Rhodesia in the February 15 London *Observer* declared, "The ghastly scene is now set for the next chapter in the struggle over Southern Africa. It will bring civil war between whites and blacks, and even more international involvement than in Angola."

In an attempt to defuse the explosive

situation in Zimbabwe, the imperialists are increasing pressure on the Smith regime to make some compromises toward the Zimbabwean nationalists before the unrest in that country escapes control. Since late 1974, the South African and Zambian regimes have participated in this effort, with Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia harassing those Zimbabweans based in Zambia who are opposed to negotiations with Smith.

### Neocolonial strategy

Important imperialist sectors in London, Washington, and even Pretoria have realized that the Smith regime is an obstacle to any peaceful transition to neocolonial methods of rule. They fear that his intransigence will only heighten the militancy of the Zimbabweans, thus endangering imperialism's overall interests. Although for now the imperialists still hope to push through a negotiated settlement, they may be willing to write off the Smith regime if such a settlement becomes impossible, pressing instead for the installation of a neocolonial Zimbabwean regime.

Washington has added its weight to the British efforts to reach a negotiated "solution" to the conflict. A State Department spokesman declared February 20, "We are calling on Mr. Smith and the white regime to negotiate realistically and seize what well may be their last opportunity for a negotiated settlement."

The white authorities in South Africa have so far managed to stifle most serious expressions of dissent in that country. But the mounting nationalist struggles in the rest of southern Africa will make their task more difficult.

In a February 20 dispatch from Johannesburg, *New York Times* correspondent Michael T. Kaufman quoted Colin Eglin, a leader of the Progressive Reform party, as saying in Parliament, "Far too many black people see what is happening in the north and in Angola as part of the process of liberation from discrimination within South Africa. I believe many of the black people of South Africa are getting silent satisfaction out of the successes of the M.P.L.A."

The *Economist*, in its lead article February 21, entitled "From the Angola Rubble," offered some proposals for joint imperialist action to "save" southern Africa from a "slide towards a general race war."

In addition to stressing the need for a "settlement" in Zimbabwe, the *Econ-*

*omist* advised that "it is necessary to reinforce the moderate men still in power in the area; to find out whether there are elements of possible moderation in the marxist regimes of Angola and Mozambique; and to neutralise, if possible, the new power of Soviet-backed Cubans."

In an effort to encourage "moderation" on the part of the MPLA regime, the *Economist* called on the European and American imperialists to launch a coordinated policy in which economic assistance would be offered to the MPLA on the condition that the Cubans leave Angola.

The February 25 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that the U.S. Agency for International Development had begun drawing up a program for economic and technical aid to the MPLA. Even more than the European powers, Washington has coupled such overtures to the MPLA with condemnation of the Cuban presence and has indicated that it will not recognize the MPLA regime until the Cubans are out.

The MPLA, for its part, has already stated that the Cubans would leave Angola after the South African troops in southern Angola have withdrawn. About 4,000 to 6,000 South African troops remain stationed in southern Angola.

The imperialists, through such economic "aid," as well as through direct investments, will seek to expand their economic domination of Angola. Gulf Oil, the largest foreign investor in the country, has already begun negotiations with the MPLA to resume operations at its Cabinda oil fields.

The giant diamond company, Diamang (Companhia de Diamantes de Angola, SARL), has also sought to negotiate an arrangement with the MPLA. Diamang, which is controlled by Portuguese, American, South African, Belgian, and British capital, owns one of the largest diamond fields in the world, located in northeastern Angola. Diamang Chairman Carlos Abecassis said in an interview in Lisbon February 23 that the company wanted to turn over its rights to the MPLA regime, while continuing to run the mines as a "contractor-partner."

Abecassis cited the company's sharp drop in production—due partly to a loss of labor—as the reason for the hand-over. According to Reuters, "He termed a takeover the only way to protect Angola's diamond production and make the laborers accept what he described as the strict discipline and

hard work required to restore productivity and efficiency."

The MPLA, which has broken strikes and introduced speedup, has already launched such a campaign to "discipline" workers.

The February 21 *Economist* article also proposed that Washington, Pretoria, and the European powers provide emergency financial aid to Zambia's Kaunda, who has worked closely with the South African regime and is a key figure in the negotiation efforts in Zimbabwe.

The drop in the world price of copper, Zambia's major export, and the closing of its transport route through Angola as a result of the civil war there, has thrown Zambia into an acute economic crisis. Kaunda's declaration of a state of emergency in January indicated the mounting internal pressures he is under.

### S. Africa key link

All the American and European imperialist efforts to maintain their position in southern Africa revolve around their strategy of bolstering the racist South African regime, which serves as the strongest imperialist foothold on the African continent. "It is on the borders of South Africa, not Rhodesia, that the west should be ready to draw a line in defence of its economic interests," the *Economist* stated.

Washington is additionally concerned about the international effects that its setback in Angola could have.

During his tour of Latin America in February, Kissinger, in a reference to possible Cuban involvement in other countries in the region, threatened, "The United States will not tolerate a challenge to the solemn treaty principle of nonintervention in this hemisphere." In Kissinger's dictionary, "nonintervention" means no interference with Washington's continued imperialist domination of Latin America.

In a warning to the Kremlin not to try to take advantage elsewhere of the American setback in Angola, Kissinger stressed during his Latin American tour that Washington had a "heavy responsibility to maintain the global balance of power . . . ."

Kissinger's threat was also directed at those peoples of the colonial and semicolonial world who will take inspiration from Washington's failure in Angola to advance their own struggles against imperialist domination.



1972 protest against racist white-settler regime of Ian Smith. Failure of U.S. and South African intervention in Angola is giving new hope to nationalist struggle for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe.

# Probusing actions needed

# 2,000 racists march in S. Boston

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—More than 2,000 antibusing bigots took their racist message to the very doors of South Boston High School February 29 in the biggest protest against court-ordered school desegregation since October 1975.

They roared their approval as State Sen. William Bulger promised a continuing "fight, no matter what form the fight takes," to stop busing to achieve desegregation.

The antibusing demonstration, organized by the Klan-like South Boston Marshals Association, took place at the same site where two weeks ago 1,000 bigots armed with bats, tire irons, tear gas, and rocks fought police in a two-hour attempt, led by the "marshals," to march on the high school.

This time, not a cop was in sight as the racists cheered antibusing leaders who urged greater defiance of the desegregation order.

Media coverage for the event was uniformly favorable, estimating crowd size at upwards of 4,000. This coverage is a reflection of the atmosphere in the city generated by the antibusing offensive.

The racist leaders spoke on a platform at the entrance to the school yard to a crowd packed up to the steps of the building. At the top of the school stairs, antibusers unfurled the colors that led the march: an American flag, a ROAR flag, and the stars and bars of the Confederacy.

## Cops turn their backs

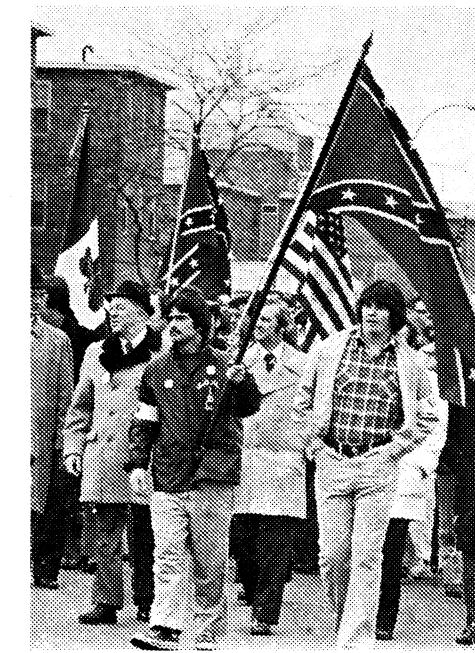
While more than 1,500 Boston police were on standby alert outside South Boston, the "get tough" policy outlined by Police Commissioner Robert DiGrazia in the wake of the February 15 melee never materialized. Scores of maroon-jacketed South Boston Marshals thugs, who two weeks earlier sent seventy-four police to the hospital, monitored the streets, communicating through walkie-talkies.

Boston Mayor Kevin White issued a permit for the march on February 23, meeting the demands of antibusing leaders that no police other than local beat cops be assigned to the demonstration. DiGrazia later lauded the racists for their behavior on the march.

The racist generals disciplined their rock-throwing foot soldiers for the day, using the rally to mobilize South Boston's voters for Alabama Gov. George Wallace. The antibusing demagogue's name was mentioned only once, but the endorsement from the podium was obvious, as Democratic party politicians from the city council, state legislature, and state senate urged "Southie" to "send a message to Washington" on March 2, the day of the Massachusetts presidential primary.



Racists rally in front of South Boston High School February 29 after march led by 'marshals' carrying U.S., ROAR, and Confederate flags.



Militant/Jon Hillson

The whole atmosphere of the primaries has emboldened the racists here. The Democratic and Republican candidates have either opposed busing outright or refused to take a strong stand in defense of the embattled Black community in its fight for equal education.

## New depths

ROAR leader James Kelly, who chaired the rally, reflected this new boldness in one of the most overtly racist speeches presented to an antibusing rally to date.

The Black community, Kelly said, "is a culture with a serious drug problem. It's a culture full of handbag snatchers. It's a culture full of high crime. It's a culture full of flag burners, and a culture that spouts a Black national anthem."

The mob greeted this tirade with chants of "Niggers, niggers!"

"We cannot accept that culture," he shouted to cheers. "We will never accept that culture."

The march on the school was a symbolic challenge to the 100-yard limit on demonstrations near the building set last year by Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity. The limit was ordered to prohibit the racists from nearing the buses that transport Black students.

Garrity's order applies only on weekdays when school is in session. But Black students who watched the bigot's mobilization on television that Sunday could not have missed the point—the *real* actions were meant for weekdays.

Meanwhile, ROAR has announced an April 24 march on Washington to stop busing. Cosponsoring the event is

the racist United Labor Against Busing in Louisville, Kentucky. More than 1,000 bigots tied up traffic in Louisville on February 28 as a buildup for the national action.

Not a ROAR member was to be seen, however, on February 25 as 300 parents met at a rescheduled Citywide Coordinating Council desegregation hearing. The parents met under heavy police protection ordered as a result of a near-riot provoked by ROAR on February 12 at the initial meeting. The CCC, appointed by Judge Garrity to monitor the desegregation process, had two earlier hearings broken up by ROAR prior to the February 12 disruption.

The CCC did not reset hearings for the Roxbury-South Boston and East Boston districts, which had previously been halted by ROAR hooligans.

On February 24, Judge Garrity announced his plan to desegregate the school system's virtually all-white administrative staff, ordering that vacancies be filled on a one-Black, one-white hiring basis until Blacks hold 20 percent of such jobs.

On February 19, Garrity responded to the demands of Puerto Rican and other Latino students who have been boycotting South Boston High School since January 12. He ruled in favor of their request to be transferred to Roxbury High School, where a bilingual program is functioning. At South Boston High School, Latino students of all grade levels had been segregated into one classroom and were subjected to racist abuse from white students and teachers.

The protest of the students had won wide support in the Puerto Rican

community. Pedro Berrios, a central leader of El Movimiento Estudiantil Hispano de South Boston High School, said of Garrity's decision, "If this didn't happen, we would have continued to struggle, but I'm very happy that the judge decided it today."

On February 27, seventy racist students organized by the South Boston High School "white student caucus" boycotted school for the day in a test of the authority of acting headmaster James Corscadden. The school remains in federal receivership to Judge Garrity's court.

The students refused to enter the school in protest of a new, alphabetical classroom seating arrangement that would have placed some of them in close proximity to Black students. The students face no disciplinary action for their refusal to enter classes.

## Shifting offensive

Schools remain tensely calm. But this shouldn't fool anyone. The focus of the bigots' offensive alternates from court maneuvers and obstruction, to physical attacks and terror, to in-school disruptions and moments of temporary surface peace.

Supporters of desegregation should not be lulled by the ebb and flow of events inside the schools.

As the surly crowd left South Boston High School from the February 29 march, a burly marshal corralled a bunch of eleven-year-olds. "No bullshit today," he warned them. But tomorrow is another day in Boston.

The watchwords of that demonstration, "No matter what form the fight takes," are the bigots' warning that they are deadly serious in their offensive against Black rights. And as one speaker at that rally put it, "This is not just South Boston's fight, but everywhere across the country."

These words should alert *antiracist* forces across the country to the need for renewed action.

At a February 21 emergency steering committee meeting in Boston, attended by 300 people, the National Student Coalition Against Racism called on supporters of Black rights to participate in and help organize meetings, rallies, and demonstrations in their local areas on the weekend of April 3-4 to support busing in Boston.

That weekend will commemorate the assassination of Martin Luther King. It is a fitting time for all opponents of racism to redouble their efforts in defense of the right of Black students to an equal education.

# Nation of Islam backs desegregation

BOSTON—Abdul Haleem Farrakhan, a central spokesperson for the Nation of Islam, decried the failure of Boston's religious leaders to take a "strong stand" in support of court-ordered desegregation as he explained his organization's reasons for backing the embattled busing plan at a news conference here February 26.

Farrakhan was in Boston to publicize the closed-circuit, nationally televised showing of the Nation of Islam's annual Savior's Day gathering held in Chicago February 29.

"It is not that we want our

children to sit next to whites in school," he said, "but our parents have long realized the value of quality education."

Farrakhan noted that it was common knowledge that Black students receive inferior education in ghetto schools while white students in segregated schools receive better educations.

"Better education is what busing should be about," he said.

"Boston is known as the cradle of liberty," Farrakhan said. "But now that they're putting Black children on buses and sending them to places like South Boston, people are com-

ing out from behind their masks of civilized humanity."

"Now we see," he said, "that Boston is not the cradle of liberty, but the cradle of racism, hatred, and degradation."

Farrakhan stated his willingness to discuss the school crisis with religious leaders in the city whose efforts, he said, could help turn back racial tensions.

The city, he said, "in this bicentennial year, ought to make some commitment to human decency and to clean up the trash in South Boston, Hyde Park, and elsewhere."

—J.H.

# Life at 'Southie' High

# Boston Black students speak out

[BOSTON—On December 9, 1975, Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity placed South Boston High School in receivership, putting the embattled school under his direct control. His sweeping order stripped the Boston School Committee of all authority over desegregation implementation and school security on a city-wide basis.

[The Garrity decision came as a direct result of public testimony from Black high school students in South Boston, and their indictment of racist students, teachers, administrators, and police—virtually the entire officialdom of the school system—whose actions had denied the Black students their constitutional rights.

[The Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, in collaboration with the Massachusetts Advocacy Center, recently published a four-page fact sheet that includes key testimony of the Black students. What follows are excerpts from those eyewitness accounts of racist harassment and victimization.]

I was sitting in my homeroom class early in the morning before first period. My teacher, Mr. Moore, was there and a Spanish student whose name I don't know and two other Black students. We were just sitting in our homeroom minding our own business, waiting for classes to start. All of a sudden, a lot of white boys, perhaps ten or twenty, came into the room and started to jump all of us. There was fighting all over the room, and we looked to our teacher Mr. Moore for help, but there was nothing that he could do about it. One of the white boys whose name I know is Sean.

\* \* \*

Some days I see gangs of white boys, headed by a student they call Sean, just roaming around the halls in the school. Some days they all wear green army jackets, and it seems like there's trouble on days when that happens.

One day in early October I saw a white student named Sean come into the school on crutches with his foot wrapped in a bandage. During homeroom, before the first period started, I saw Sean unwrapping the bandage from his foot. I heard him say, "This is my new nigger beater. I am going to use this crutch on the first nigger that



When whites provoke fights, Black students are frequently arrested.

says anything to me."

\* \* \*

Three Black students were walking with me, all in single file. When we got to the lobby, I saw a long row of white students the whole length of the corridor. One of the white students pushed Jack and said something about "nigger mothers" and "all niggers suck." Jack said, "Whose mother are you talking about?" The white said, "Yours, nigger." The whites all started dropping their books and started to make a big circle around us. The one started swinging at Jack, and I tried to pull him away. Other whites started fighting us all. The police ran in and started pulling people apart and it was over in about twenty seconds. I was suspended for three days for this incident.

\* \* \*

I am seventeen years old and a sophomore at South Boston High School. I went there last year, too. I have five brothers and sisters in school in South Boston, three in the Gavin, one at L Street, and a sister with me at G Street. I am Black.

All year long I have not been in any fights, and I have not been suspended. One morning, Friday, October 31, 1975, I was walking to my first period health class, going right in front of the office. Three white boys were walking behind me, and one of them named John started to push me.

A teacher named Mr. Marc Scarsella was standing right there by the office and saw this happen. Mr. Scarsella grabbed that white boy John real quick. But John grabbed me anyway and ripped my coat and the other two white boys grabbed me, too, and I was knocked to the ground.

I did not try to fight back. I did not raise my hands. I kept holding onto my books until I dropped them when I was knocked to the ground. A lot of state troopers came running over and grabbed me, and the white boys continued to hit me and kick me as the troopers held me.

Three or four of those troopers picked me up and carried me downstairs to the holding room. I didn't try to fight back or anything and I would have walked down, but they carried me anyway.

When we got downstairs one of the troopers, badge number 665, who I have seen lots of times in front of the office, said, "Drop the nigger." They just dropped me on the floor like I was a dog or something.

Then the troopers wanted to take my picture, but they didn't tell me what for, and I didn't want them to. I turned my head away and put my new leather coat over my head.

One of the troopers who wears shades, whom I have seen lots of times, said something like, "Break his arms" and, "You grab one arm, I'll hold his other, and we'll break his arms, if he won't stand for this picture."

\* \* \*

I was out in the hall near a state trooper. A white student passed me and said: "If there's one thing I hate, it's the smell of niggers," and spit on the floor. I said to the trooper: "You heard that." The trooper turned away from me and didn't do anything about it.

\* \* \*

[A leader of the Black Student Caucus is transferring out of South Boston High School because

school officials could not guarantee her safety. Her affidavit reads as follows.]

My name and phone number are at the top of the press release, and I also went on television, and my name was in the Boston *Globe*. Ever since that time, me and my family have been receiving all sorts of threatening phone calls at all times of the day and night. Now my parents answer the phone most of the time.

One caller told my brother, "Tell the little darkie we're watching her." Another said, "If she comes back to school, she'll get a knife in the back." Another said, "It doesn't matter how many bodyguards she has, they can't guarantee her safety during all seven periods every day."

We talked to the FBI about this, and Dr. Reid [former South Boston High School headmaster] told me I should put in an application for a transfer. I knew some of the callers had to be adults, because of their voices and some of the kinds of words they used. Others sounded more like students.

One day Dr. Reid saw me and I was

One of the white student demands was that music be played over the school P.A. system during the change of classes. They said they wanted this "because music soothes the savage beasts."

White kids were standing outside chanting, "Two, four, six, eight, assassinate the nigger apes." Later in the period some of the white kids came back into the school. When they came into my homeroom some of the white kids continued to chant: "Two, four, six, eight, assassinate the nigger apes." Mr. Hamann told the students to be quiet but most of them continued anyway. He did not tell them they were suspended or anything then, and I do not think that any disciplinary action was ever taken against them.

\* \* \*

Today, November 14, 1975, during third period (9:35-10:15) an assault occurred in my algebra class. The four Black students in the class sit up front. Suddenly, without any warning (the class had been peaceful all year) I



Militant/Jon Hillson

Black students enter South Boston High School, braving racist abuse and violence to exercise their right to an equal education.

kept in the office until they sent me home. They told me that it was "the only way to protect me." I stayed out of school for several days.

\* \* \*

I was walking with a group of Black students to a meeting we had arranged with the head of the state troopers stationed inside South Boston High School. We walked by Tyson's homeroom, and his room teacher, Mr. Scalese, was not going to let him go to the meeting.

Clyde told Mr. Scalese about the meeting, and we were starting to walk down the hall to go to the meeting when I saw Scalese making monkey sounds in front of me. Mr. Scalese was standing in the doorway making gestures and sounds like a monkey at us. I heard students inside the class behind him laughing and clapping and pounding their desks.

\* \* \*

Especially in the cafeteria, they call us "nigger" and say things like, "Kiss my ass" and "Go to hell." They also say things like, "We don't want you in our school."

looked up and saw a white boy holding a chair up over one of the Black boys' head. The next thing I knew, the white boy had hit the Black boy two times over the head. The Black boy was stunned but seemed to recover and started to get out [of] his chair.

Right after this happened, the rest of us Blacks in the class got up to go after the white boy who had hit the Black boy. All the whites were sitting behind us and got up and started to go to the back of the room. Before we got to the back of the room, a state trooper came in and grabbed the white boy who assaulted the Black boy and took him out of the room.

Right after the white boy was taken out of the room, another white boy in our class jumped up and said, "Are you going to arrest him? You didn't arrest that nigger when he hit me with a chair." He was then taken from the room.

Everyone in the room was upset and we couldn't work for the rest of the period. Our teacher was shaking and crying, and said to the police that the white boy had no reason to assault the Black boy. She suggested to us Blacks that we sit in the back of the room from now on.

# In Our Opinion

## International outlaws

President Ford has branded Cuba an "international outlaw" and the Cuban government a "regime of aggression." In part his February 28 remarks were calculated to woo the sizable right-wing Cuban exile vote in the Florida primary. But Ford's charges can't be dismissed as mere campaign rhetoric.

The U.S. rulers have reserved a special hatred for Cuba—the first country in the Western hemisphere to break the grip of imperialism through a successful socialist revolution. Particularly galling to the imperialists has been Cuba's recent refusal to give up its support for the Puerto Rican independence movement.

Ford's new verbal blast comes at a time when Washington has been faring especially poorly in its long crusade against Cuba.

Only four days earlier Henry Kissinger had returned from a tour of several Latin American countries. He was less than successful in one of his main goals—to firm up the sagging diplomatic isolation of Cuba.

The best friend Kissinger could find in Latin America was the brutal dictatorship in Brazil, with whom he established a special, favored relationship. Similarly, in Africa the most reliable U.S. allies are the reactionary white-settler regimes of South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Behind both Ford's remarks and Kissinger's trip is the recent turn of events in Angola, where Cuban troops played an important part in upsetting Washington's plans.

In the wake of the MPLA victory, the spotlight is shifting to other parts of southern Africa, especially Zimbabwe. With news of increased activity by Black freedom fighters against the white minority regime in that country, the continued presence of several thousand combat-seasoned Cuban troops in the region has weighed heavily on the minds of both Ford and Kissinger.

Ford's attack on Cuba—coming from the biggest "international outlaw" and the most ruthless "regime of aggression" in the world—will not be very convincing.

President Alfonso López Michelsen of Colombia reflected this at a news conference with Kissinger during his tour. He refused to condemn the Cuban role in Africa. "This is not the first time that one of the countries of the hemisphere has intervened outside the hemisphere," López said in a pointed reference to U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

U.S. imperialism is the most dangerous "outlaw" in Africa and around the world. The U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba and the newly exposed CIA murder plots against Fidel Castro should not be forgotten.

We should demand that the U.S. international outlaws keep hands off Cuba and get out of Africa now!

## Danger in Boston

George Wallace's showing in the Massachusetts Democratic primary—first place in Boston, with more than 28 percent of the vote; third place statewide, with 17 percent—is yet another warning signal of the racist hysteria being whipped up by the antibusing movement.

Sen. Henry Jackson, the front-runner statewide, aped Wallace in condemning "forced busing." But the racist mobs that have terrorized Black students, stoned school buses, and fire bombed Black homes saw the Dixie segregationist as their true hero.

The biggest mistake supporters of Black rights could make now would be to divert their energies into backing some other Democratic contender to "stop Wallace." The facts show that not one of the capitalist party candidates campaigned in defense of school desegregation.

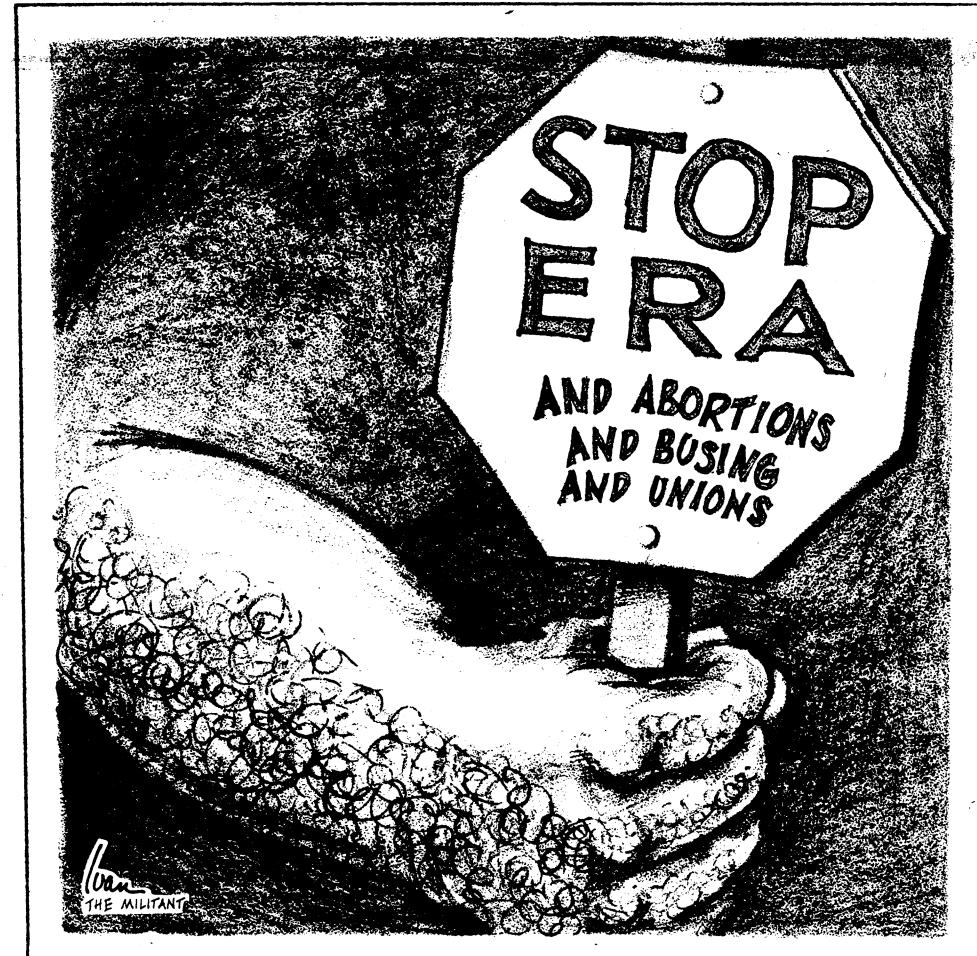
Not one spoke out for strict enforcement of court-ordered busing, or for use of all necessary force—including federal troops—to protect Blacks from mob violence.

While Ford, Reagan, Jackson, and Wallace appealed openly for the racist vote, the liberal Democrats Morris Udall, Birch Bayh, and Fred Harris ran for cover. *Their silence helped pave the way for Wallace's victory in Boston.*

Black rights can only be defended by a massive show of support for desegregation—through rallies, teach-ins, and marches.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism has urged that actions around the country on April 3-4, commemorating the assassination of Martin Luther King, focus on defense of busing.

Actions like these, not reliance on weak-kneed liberal Democrats, show the way to turn back the racist offensive in Boston.



**Arm of reaction**

## Letters

### Spy report available

I would like to let everyone know that the "Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders" report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, Senate Report 94-465, may be purchased from: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, for the price of \$2.35.

The availability of the report has not made headlines, as one can imagine. Yet it is a fact and I have sent for my copy, for posterity's sake. It must be an amazing piece of literature!

*Kim F. Clearhen  
Los Angeles, California*

crews, mechanics, and office workers.

This irresponsible action by the "boss man" has to be pointed out in reply to his charges that the workers are overpaid, unreliable, and causing the company to lose thousands of dollars every day.

*A.R.  
Los Angeles, California*

### Nation of Islam

Malik Miah's article on the Nation of Islam (*Militant*, February 27) was very welcome. The Nation has opened itself to cooperation with non-Blacks and has moved toward a more orthodox Islam, both of which were advocated by Malcolm X.

Malcolm's principal source of disagreement with the Muslim leadership, though, was the issue of Muslim participation in the civil rights movement and in defense of the Black communities from police and paralegal violence.

Malcolm favored such action and he was disappointed by the Muslim leadership's veto of all participation except in cases where Muslims were themselves threatened.

It is not enough to rehabilitate Malcolm's name and to rename Mosque No. 7 after him.

The place to look for a move away from abstentionism is in the fight against segregation and racism in Boston and Louisville. Will the Nation follow Malcolm's example by joining with other antiracist forces in meeting the central challenge facing the Black movement and its friends?

*Chris Starr  
Lawrence, Kansas*

### Airlift strike

I'd like to comment on your article on the airlines' offensive against their workers (*Militant*, January 30).

As a member of a union involved in the Airlift International strike since mid-November, I have just received some startling news.

Recently, for the second time in two months, the lawyers for the company and the union reached agreement on all terms of the contract. The president of the company and the chief negotiator for the union met to work out the back-to-work agreement.

The president refused to fire scabs hired during the strike, called on striking pilots to retrain at their own expense, and refused to recognize other rights previously guaranteed.

He also did not want to rehire members of other unions laid off because of the strike, such as ground

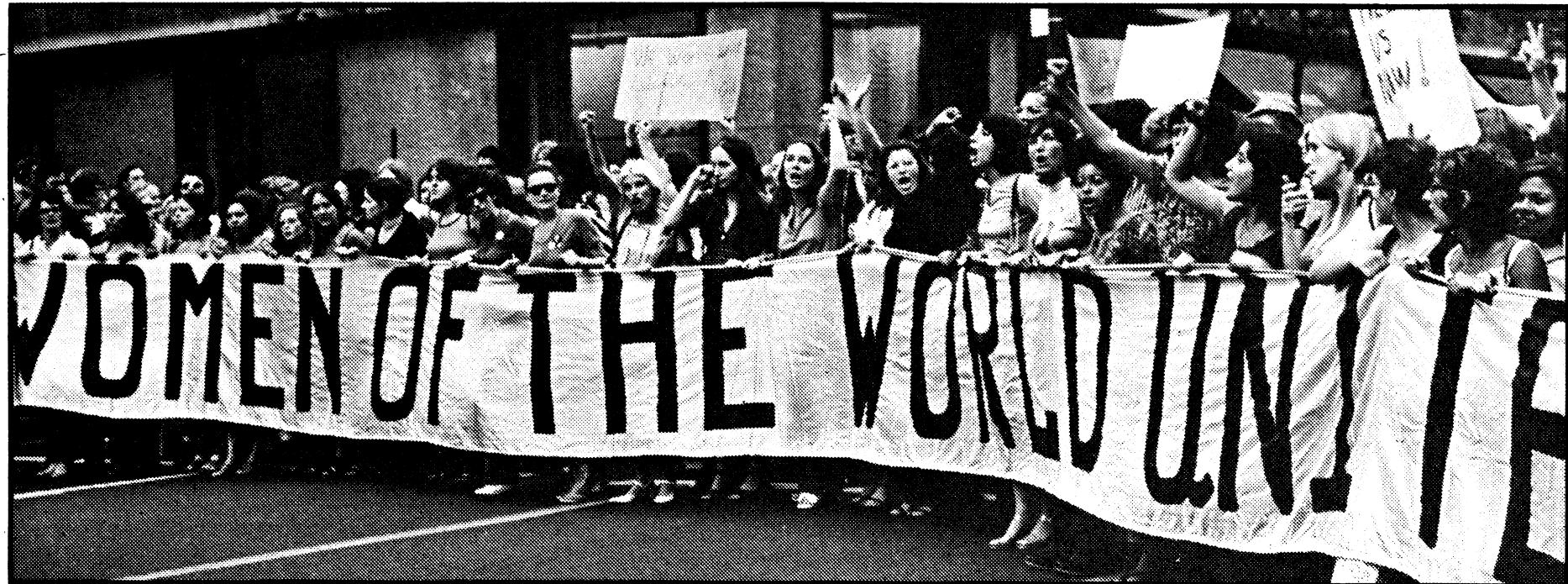
### Demands amnesty

Along with more than 1,000 other Mississippians, I petitioned President Ford for universal, unconditional amnesty for everyone who fell victim to the injustices of the Vietnam War and the draft.

I can speak of the injustices of the draft from personal experience. In 1969, along with two other Black men,

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# International **Socialist** review



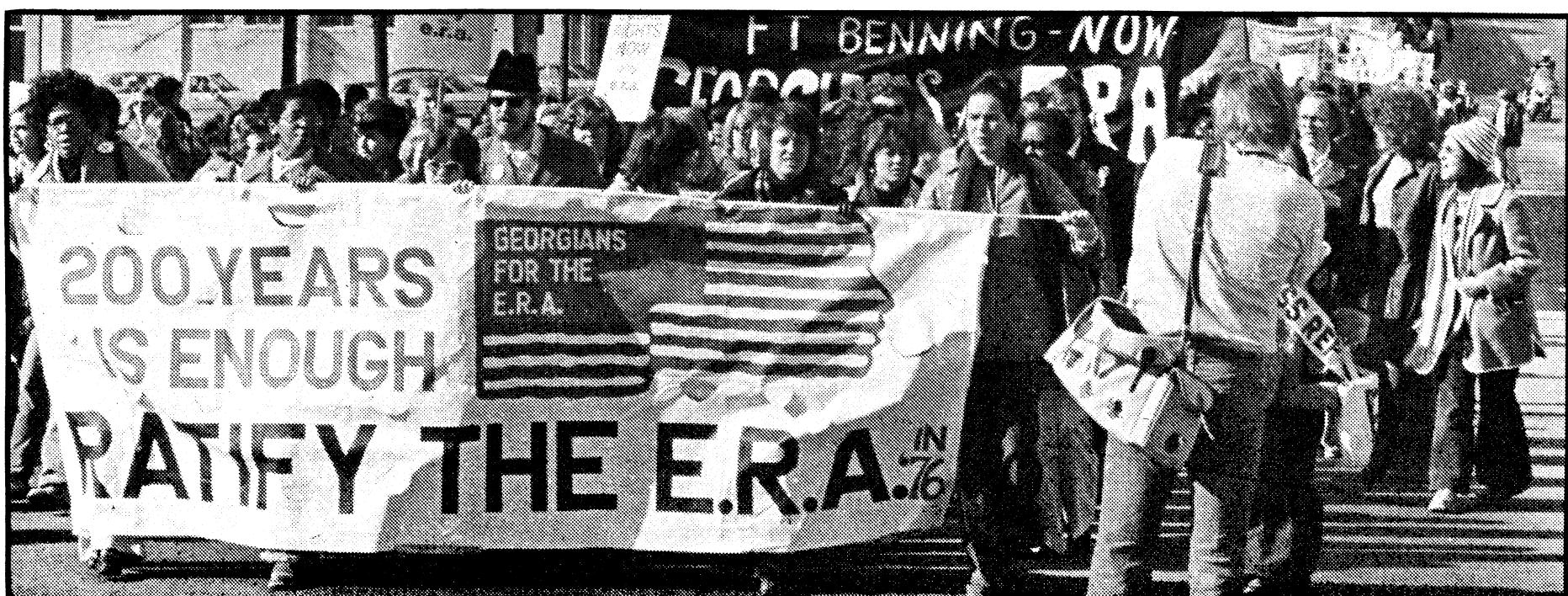
Howard Petrick

## INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY SPECIAL ISSUE

- Feminism and Socialism
- Puerto Rican Women's Struggle
- How Women Won the Right to Vote

Japanese Feminist Speaks Out:

- Stop Prostitution Tours in S. Korea!



Harris Freeman

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

## Threat to Abortion Rights

The right of women to abortion is under broadside attack by the Catholic church hierarchy, Democratic and Republican politicians, and government and medical institutions. This threat has far-reaching implications. It calls for an emergency response, not only by women's groups, but by all organizations of working people and supporters of human rights.

The 1973 Supreme Court decision on abortion was a landmark victory for women. By giving constitutional protection to the right of women to control their own bodies, it represented a beachhead of progress against the reactionary policies of church and state that hold women down in all areas of life. The decision dealt a blow to one of the key rationalizations used to discriminate against women: the argument that equal opportunity in education and jobs is unnecessary because women's "natural" function—irrespective of their desires—is supposed to be motherhood and child care.

This big step forward for women in the United States set a precedent and inspired women internationally, including in the countries most dominated by the Catholic church hierarchy.

In the United States, the availability of legal abortion has resulted in a sharp drop in abortion-related deaths, according to the National Academy of Sciences. Another study, based on statistics from New York City, found that seven out of ten legal abortions today would have been performed by back-alley butchers if the operation had not been legalized.

The American people have come to defend abortion as a woman's right. One of the most recent nationwide surveys, conducted by the Knight-Ridder newspaper chain, found that 81 percent of Americans agreed with the statement: "If a woman wants to have an abortion, that is a matter for her and her doctor to decide and the government should have nothing to do with it." This was the response of 82 percent of the Protestants asked, and 76 percent of the Catholics.

Despite the clear majority support for this right, the actual availability of abortion is not only insufficient, but is being cut back. And a reactionary howl has gone up across the country demanding reversal of the Supreme Court decision.

This campaign is led by the Catholic church hierarchy, nurtured by the capitalist media, and either endorsed or capitulated to by the Democratic and Republican party presidential candidates. In only a few months this campaign by a minority has escalated to major proportions.

- Last November, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops launched a drive to form "tightly knit and well-organized" anti-abortion groups in every congressional district. These units are to lobby for a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion.

- In January, some 50,000 persons demonstrated in Washington, D.C., against the right to abortion—many of them children herded to the march from Catholic schools.

One of the students from a Catholic high school told a reporter from the *Washington Post* about the kind of tactics the anti-abortionists are using in the schools. "A right to life group came to school last year with a slide show and showed what abortions look like," explained the student. "They showed it in a school assembly and all the kids got grossed out. It scared a lot of people."

Another tactic of these vicious fanatics is to confront women entering abortion clinics with billboards or leaflets with gory pictures of fetuses.

- In January, Democrat Jimmy Carter managed to come out on top in the Iowa Democratic precinct caucuses by telling the anti-abortionists and Catholic officials there that he was for "a national statute" to "restrict the practice of abortion in our country."

- Two weeks later, President Ford came out with his statement that he thought the Supreme Court decision "went too far" and that states should have the right to clamp down on abortion. He is trying to compete with rabid anti-abortionist Ronald Reagan.

- The "typical answer" on abortion given by liberal Democrat Birch Bayh while campaigning in New Hampshire, according to *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr, was the following: "I am the only Senator who held 15 months of hearings on abortion and I came to the conclusion I wanted to oppose abortion because really we are talking about life." Out of the other side of his mouth, he tries to tell pro-abortion audiences that he supports the Supreme Court decision.

- A nationwide study by the Planned Parenthood Federation, released last fall, concluded that between 30 and 50 percent of women who want abortions are unable to obtain them because of the unwillingness of public hospitals to allow performance of abortions.

- On March 1 the Supreme Court itself dealt a blow to the right to abortion in federally aided private hospitals. The court refused to hear a challenge to a 1973 law that allows such hospitals to refuse to perform abortions on "religious" or "moral" grounds.

- The nationwide drive to cut back on spending for social services is exacerbating this problem of cost and availability of abortions. In New York, for example, Gov. Hugh Carey has put forward a bill that would in effect exclude abortion from Medicaid coverage.

What we see happening is that even though the overwhelming majority of Americans strongly support the right to abortion, a vociferous and powerful minority has launched a drive to deprive women of that right.

The reactionary offensive against the right

to abortion is not an isolated problem, but one element of the general offensive against the rights and standard of living of working people.

This is a time of massive layoffs, when women are among the first to be thrown out of work. It is a time of cutbacks in funding for child-care centers, education, and other social services. The bankers and industrialists, who profit from these cutbacks and layoffs, wish women would quietly accept losing their jobs, their child-care centers, or their ability to go to school, and settle back into the home.

The right to abortion, like the demand for the Equal Rights Amendment, is part of women's insistence on more options to control and improve their lives through education and better jobs. The ruling rich—who are out to force a "belt tightening" by all working people—have an interest in encouraging such outfits as the so-called right-to-life groups, which can be used as a battering ram against the aspirations of women.

In the same way, the capitalist rulers encourage, directly and indirectly, the right-wing antibusing gangs in their attempts to intimidate Black people in their fight for the right to a better education.

Many of the activists and financial backers of these reactionary groups overlap. For example, anti-abortion bigot Ellen McCormack, who is running for president, now makes it clear "that she is as antibusing as she is anti-abortion," according to Christopher Lydon in the March 2 *New York Times*.

The pro-abortion majority needs to make its voice heard over those of the fetus fetishists and the politicians who either support them or are too spineless or two-faced to answer them. This is a task not only for women's groups, but for the trade unions, Black organizations, and all working people. The offensive against abortion, in addition to the drive to stop passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and to halt busing for desegregation, are cutting edges of the drive by the ruling class to push back the gains and expectations of working people for a better life on all levels.

The National Organization for Women has called a national demonstration on May 16 demanding passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, to take place in Springfield, Illinois. This action can be a powerful show of support for women's rights, including the right to abortion. Women and men who are alarmed by the rising threat to abortion rights should also join in protests directed specifically against the anti-abortion forces, such as the actions called by NOW for Mothers Day.

These protests can strike a blow against the reactionary forces who are trying to push back the historic victory of the right to abortion. All working people have a stake in making these protests a resounding success.

The only presidential candidates who will be speaking in support of, and marching on, these demonstrations, and who give unqualified support to the right of women to abortion, are Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid of the Socialist Workers party. They need the active support of all those who think women have the right to control their own bodies.

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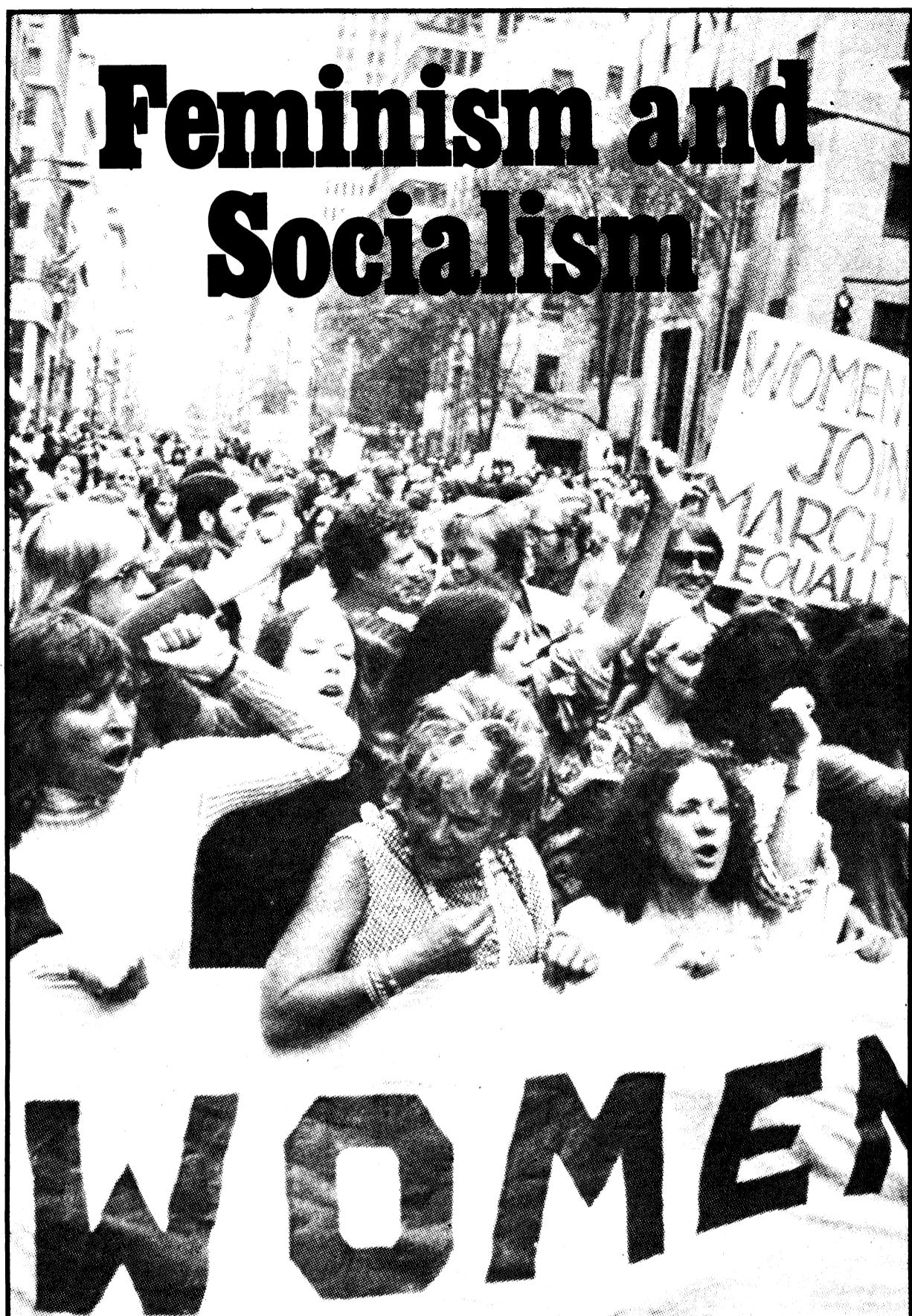
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By Linda Jenness

There is a new ferment taking place within the women's liberation movement today. This ferment takes the form of discussions, debates, articles, and conferences revolving around the connection between feminism and socialism.

There is a wide range of opinion on this subject. On the one hand, many women believe socialism and feminism are antagonistic: that not only is there no connection between them, but that there is a conflict. They think the struggle for socialism is not their struggle.

Others are thinking, or rethinking, about socialism from a feminist perspective and are coming to the conclusion that complete freedom for women will only be won in a socialist society.

This new interest in socialism is not limited to the feminist movement. Socialism is being discussed in wider circles in the United States today than it has been for many decades. Socialist ideas are particularly being studied and given a serious hearing by sections of the Black liberation and Chicano movements, by many trade unionists, and by students.

This rethinking is in large part a result of the economic crisis. It has also been stimulated by

the lessons people have learned, and conclusions they have drawn, from participation in the various struggles of the past decade.

What leads women to begin considering socialist ideas? Some get interested by reading a book or hearing a socialist speaker. But most take the first step by becoming involved in a fight around one or another issue.

A woman might decide to do something about the fact that the man sitting next to her at work gets almost twice as much pay for the same amount of work. She might decide to join in a fight for child-care centers because she has to spend nearly half her paycheck for baby-sitters or a child-care center. She might join in a defense campaign for a woman being framed up, such as Joanne Little. She might fight so that she, or her daughter, can get a fair shake in the educational system. She might decide to fight the laws that oppress her as a lesbian.

She joins in these struggles—or maybe just one of them—usually thinking that a change here or there will solve her problems.

Two things happen as a woman gets involved in struggles around particular issues. First, she begins to realize that her oppression is much deeper than she had thought. It is quite a staggering thing to figure out how oppressed women really are.

As a woman fights for the right to abortion, child care, or equal pay, she becomes conscious that the problem she faces is not limited to the lack of child care, abortion rights, or equal pay. It is an enormous economic, social, and psychological oppression that permeates every institution and nook and cranny of society, and it began working against her the day she was born.

She becomes conscious of the fact that it is going to take much more than a reform here or there to rectify the situation. It requires a major overhaul of society.

#### Common Enemies

The second thing that happens as women become involved in struggles is that we become aware of, and more sensitive to, the oppression of others. We realize that other sectors of society are affected by many of the same issues. And we begin to look for allies—for others who will join with us in a united fight.

Take, for example, the cases of Joanne Little and of Dr. Kenneth Edelin (the Black physician in Boston convicted by an all-white jury last year for performing a legal abortion). As women rallied in defense of these two frame-up victims, they looked to the Black community for support. Many Black activists and organizations joined in these defense campaigns because in both cases the enemies were both sexism and racism.

In the course of those struggles, it became clear that the antiwoman forces and the anti-Black forces were one and the same.

In Boston, for instance, central figures in the racist antibusing drive were the initiators of the frame-up drive against Dr. Edelin. ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights, the racist outfit formed to fight school desegregation) and the so-called right-to-life groups work hand in hand, overlapping in membership and leadership. ROAR also sent people to physically disrupt a pro-Equal Rights Amendment rally held in Boston last April.

Blacks and women clearly have a common enemy. This means a defeat for one group is also a defeat for the other. Women and Blacks have a stake in each other's fight, and thus there is a basis for united action and collaboration.

These two things—the realization that a fundamental change in the system itself is needed to free women, and the desire and need to find allies in order to win—have prompted many women to consider the relationship of women's liberation to socialism.

Many questions are being raised: What is the relationship of the women's movement to other struggles? Do we need a socialist revolution, and if so, how does it happen? Is socialism enough?—women are not free in the Soviet Union. Can feminists work in any of the organizations that claim to stand for socialism, or should we try to go it alone? What political strategy is necessary for women to win complete liberation? How do socialism and feminism fit together?

To answer these questions, it is necessary to look at some history, because therein lies one of the reasons these kinds of questions are being asked today in the first place.

It used to be that no one had to ask how socialism and feminism fit together, because the two were almost automatically connected in everyone's mind. It was simply assumed that anyone associated with revolutionary socialism would support the rights of women, just as they would champion the rights of all the oppressed against the upholders of the status quo.

This was the case because the great revolutionary socialist leaders—like Marx, Engels, Luxemburg, Lenin, and Trotsky—explained again and again that it was impossible for women to be free short of socialism and that socialism could not succeed without freeing women.

The *Communist Manifesto*, which first put forth a scientific, materialist perspective for the socialist movement, also contained a scientific explanation of the roots of women's oppression and how to end it. This document outlined how the family system and the subjugation of women stem from the system of private property and the division of society into antagonistic classes.

After the *Communist Manifesto* there was Frederick Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Today this book is still appreciated by many women who may not be Marxists but who recognize in Engels a powerful spokesperson for the cause of women's liberation.

Then there was Lenin, who explained the necessity for a revolutionary socialist party to champion the demands of women: "Our demands are practical conclusions which we have drawn from the burning need, the shameful humiliation of women in bourgeois society, defenseless and without rights. We demonstrate thereby that we recognize these needs and are aware of the

Linda Jenness was the 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party. Today she is the organizer of the Lower East Side branch of the SWP in New York City. This article is based on a talk she gave to the "Socialism and Feminism" workshop at the December 1975 convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.



Demonstration in February 1917 revolution in Russia. Banner says, 'Voting rights for women.' Before the rise of Stalinism, socialist ideas and movements were always associated with support for women's liberation.

humiliation of the woman, the privileges of the man. That we hate, yes, hate everything, and will abolish everything which tortures and oppresses the woman worker, the housewife, the peasant woman, the wife of the petty trader, yes, and in many cases the women of the possessing classes."

It was not only the great geniuses of Marxism who considered socialism and women's liberation inseparable, but all the leading men and women of the socialist movement—Eugene Debs, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Kate Richards O'Hare, Antoinette Konikow, Emma Goldman—and others of the time who were known as defenders of women's rights and also identified with socialism, such as Margaret Sanger and Helen Keller.

But Marxism and women's liberation were not only related in the sphere of ideology. The greatest event that connected socialism and women's liberation in life was the Russian revolution of 1917. The February revolution—the first of two revolutions that took place in that year—was touched off by the action of women textile workers. The Russian revolution brought Marxism out of the realm of ideas and put it into practice. It proved that the working class could take control of its own destiny. And it also proved that an end to private property and the profit system could open the door to the kind of fundamental changes necessary to free women.

The Bolshevik revolution, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, was totally committed to the goal of women's liberation. The revolution shattered the old tsarist traditions that made women little more than slaves to their husbands. Women won complete legal equality with men and the right to abortion and divorce. Special measures were taken to ensure the rights of working women, pregnant women, and mothers.

The Communist party program of 1919 vowed "to destroy utterly all traces of the former inequality or prejudices" against women. It continued: "Not confining itself to formal equality of women, the party strives to liberate them from the material burdens of obsolete household work by replacing it by communal houses, public eating places, central laundries, nurseries, etc."

The emancipation of women in the Soviet Union was not completed, by any means; it was only begun. But the path forward was shown.

#### Stalinist Reaction

What followed was a political counterrevolution under the leadership of Joseph Stalin. There was a retreat in all social spheres, including the situation of women.

This rise of reaction overturned most of the gains and perspectives for women's liberation. The family was glorified. Abortions were made illegal. Divorce became more and more costly. Prostitution and homosexuality again became crimes. Day-care centers were closed or their hours shortened.

It is impossible here to explain fully the reasons for this retreat. They included the poverty of the Soviet Union, its lack of industry, the isolation of the revolution in the face of a hostile capitalist world, and the costly civil war.

In his book *The Revolution Betrayed*, Leon Trotsky devotes an entire chapter to the effects of the Stalinist reaction on women and the family. He explains how the poverty of material resources meant the revolutionary government was unable to provide the alternative institutions necessary to lift the burden from women in the family system, and why it was in the interests of the conservatized, privileged Stalinist bureaucracy to reinforce the hierarchy of the family system and maintain the oppression of women.

This counterrevolution, or reaction, was not complete. Capitalism was not restored in the Soviet Union. And many of the gains women made as a result of the revolution have been maintained, particularly in education and employment.

But the colossal retreat in the area of women's rights—as well as the suppression of democratic rights in general and of the rights of oppressed nationalities, and the growth of economic privilege—was all done in the name of socialism. If this retreat had been carried out under its proper name—reaction—things would be easier for socialists today. But it was done in the name of socialism, even though it was the antithesis of socialism and of the Marxist attitude toward women's liberation.

#### Real Marxism and Fake

This is the origin of the schism between socialism and feminism in the minds of many people today. It comes from the lies, distortions, and misrepresentations of the principles of Marxism by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Feminists today look at the monstrosity of the Soviet Union and they conclude, "Well, if that is socialism, it certainly lacks something for women. We'd better try something else."

Or they look at the American Communist party—the representatives of the Moscow bureaucracy in this country—and they see that this party is opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment, that it totally abstained from the fight for legal abortion, and that it gave paltry defense to Joanne Little. With this kind of record presented as Marxism, it is no wonder that it is rejected by some serious feminists.

But it is important to understand that these women who reject Marxism are rejecting what they *think* Marxism is, as represented by the Communist party, and rejecting what they *think* socialism is, as represented by the Soviet Union.

One job before the socialist movement and the feminist movement is to separate the authentic from the fake, the fighters from the phonies, the Marxists from the distorters of Marx.

One reason for the ferment going on now around socialism and feminism is that many women who had earlier thrown out the baby with the bath—who threw out Marxism along with the phony misrepresentation of it—came up against roadblocks and inconsistencies in trying to confront the issues facing women today.

These questions of strategy have confronted the feminist movement since its inception, but they are now being looked at anew and reevalu-

ated under the new conditions of growing economic and social crisis.

Most of the discussions and debates about strategy for the emancipation of women, while they take different forms, come down to one basic question: whether to fight uncompromisingly for the needs of the masses of women, following through to wherever that struggle leads—or to subordinate the struggle of women to the framework of preserving the capitalist system. That is, to patch up the present system of inequality, or to seek an uprooting of inequality. The basic question is reform or revolution.

One way this debate is expressed is over what kinds of organizations women should belong to and build. One issue raised here is the specter of the so-called male-dominated Left. This term is used by serious feminists, nonserious feminists, women in the Democratic party, and some women in lesbian groups, to urge women not to join or work with any socialist organization that includes both men and women. But the term means different things to different people.

There are reasons why this warning about the "male-dominated Left" can have an effect on some women. For one thing, male domination is an objective reality in our society; most organizations that women belong to in their lifetimes are dominated by men—from their churches, to their jobs, to their unions. So there is a basis in reality for women to be concerned about male domination.

Furthermore, within what is referred to as "the Left" or "the radical movement," there are a variety of groups that claim to be socialist but subordinate the struggle of women to something "more important," or do not recognize the feminist struggle at all.

There is the Communist party, whose negative record on the women's struggle has already been mentioned.

There are the Maoist groups, such as the October League and the Revolutionary Communist party, which religiously seek solutions to all political problems from the thoughts of Mao Tsetung. The RCP, like the CP, opposes passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and has abstained from the major struggles of women in recent years. The October League, while giving verbal support to some feminist demands, warns against independent struggle by women because it supposedly divides the working class. This general attitude is shared by a number of smaller radical groups as well.

They fail to recognize that it is not the fight against sexism that is divisive, but sexism itself.

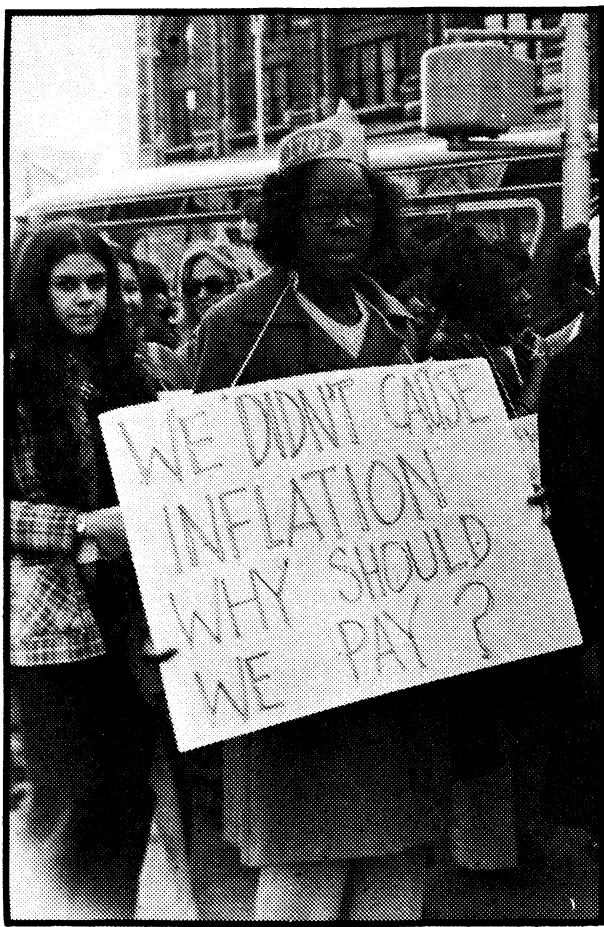
So all these factors—the role of the Communist party in the women's movement, the antifeminism of the sectarian socialist groups, and the experiences women have had with male domination in other radical or working-class organizations—are used by the conscious opponents of socialist ideas for their own purposes. They are used by people who have a stake in limiting the women's movement to the framework of reforms. The charge of "male-dominated Left" is used to try to prejudice women against considering revolutionary socialist ideas and against considering the need for a revolutionary party of all the oppressed and exploited.

I had an experience during the 1972 presidential election campaign that illustrated the demagogic behind the "male-domination" charge. As the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party, I happened to be speaking on the same platform with Gloria Steinem in Los Angeles. I spoke first, explaining my party's program, including its feminist program, and encouraged women to vote socialist.

Then Steinem spoke. She told the audience that they should not vote socialist because Marx was a sexist and the SWP is male-dominated. She said she used to be a Marxist, but had moved beyond Marx, becoming more feminist.

It sounded quite radical. But then she went on to tell people they should vote for George McGovern. Steinem had gone from Marx to McGovern, and she explained this leap backward by claiming Marx was a sexist and the SWP was male-dominated.

What does "male domination" really mean? If it simply refers to the fact that all men are products of this society and therefore have sexist prejudices, then this is true of men in any organization, not just socialist organizations. All social relationships are affected by the prejudices



Martna Harris



José Pérez

fostered by this sexist society.

The real question, however, is not the attitudes of individual men, but rather what *program* an organization stands for, whether its program and practice are in the interests of women.

Consider, for example, the men involved in the Russian revolution of 1917. They were not free from sexism, but that was not decisive. What was decisive was that the Bolshevik party had a revolutionary program, it won the masses of people to its banner, and it led a socialist revolution that accomplished important preconditions for freeing women.

The question is not whether Marx, in his own personal relationships, was sexist. Marx's contribution to humanity was not in his personal conduct. Marx's contributions were ideas about reorganizing society in the interests of the exploited and oppressed. These ideas developed by Marx lay the basis for freeing women.

#### Are Men the Enemy?

What is the solution put forward by those women who reject the revolutionary socialist movement under the guise that it is "male-dominated"? How do *they* propose to win freedom for women? There are basically two alternatives put forward.

One position is that the real enemy is not capitalism, not class society, but men—that the basic conflict in society is between men and women. This theory says that since men are the enemy, and since women have nothing in common with men, we need to establish all-women communities, set up women's health-care units, build our own child-care centers—in essence, to try to build new relationships, new institutions, new communities within the current system.

In other words, this view says don't challenge the capitalist system, but simply drop out of it and build your own counterculture within it.

But if women are to have the child-care centers we need, the hospitals we need, the housing and jobs we need, we have to gain control of the vast wealth and resources of this country. We have to take control of those resources away from the ruling rich. To do that, a revolution is necessary. And it will take both men and women to make that revolution.

The theory that men are the enemy ignores the connection between sex and class oppression. It fails to acknowledge that the oppression of women is not the only kind of oppression. It does not explain racism, or that all working people are exploited under capitalism.

Taken to its logical conclusion, the theory that men are the enemy leads to the statement of Jane Alpert, who, in her manifesto called "Mother Right: A New Feminist Theory," denounces the "male-dominated Left," says that women's oppression is the only oppression that counts, and concludes with the racist, reactionary comment on the Attica massacre that "I will mourn the

loss of 42 male supremacists no longer."

The best way to see through the flimsiness of the "men are the enemy, only women can bring about change" theory is to look at the unions. The unions are male-dominated, as well as racist, bureaucratic, and corrupt. But what should working women do?

The feminist movement has had a big impact on working women, including women unionists. In the past few years, many women in the unions have become conscious of the unequal treatment they get in society, on the job, and in the unions themselves.

After realizing this, they had two choices. They could conclude that since the unions are male-dominated and sexist they should not have anything to do with them. Or they could recognize that while they are divided from male unionists to the extent that these workers uphold sexist discrimination, at the same time they have something in common with the male unionists: the fight against the bosses. In other words, they could recognize that they suffer a *special* oppression as women, but a *common* oppression with men as workers.

This is exactly what many women unionists are recognizing today. They have come together as women in their unions, forming women's committees to discuss their special oppression as women and to decide what to do about it. And they got together nationally to form the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

CLUW's job is twofold. One is to fight to get the unions to defend the interests of women; and the second is to strengthen the unions, to urge working women to join them.

Union women know, or are learning, not only what divides them from men, but also what unites them. And any theory that fails to see the connection between sex and class oppression, any theory that fails to see both what divides working people and what unites them, is a losing theory.

#### The Real Parties of Male Domination

The other alternative counterposed to a revolutionary socialist perspective is that women should work in the Democratic or Republican party, helping elect women Democrats or Republicans or liberal men who claim to support women's rights.

It is ironic that often the women who rave the loudest about the "male-dominated Left" work in the Democratic party and propose it as an alternative. Many leaders of the Women's Political Caucus, and some leaders of the National Organization for Women, fall into this category.

If ever the word "male-dominated" could be applied properly, it can be applied to the Democratic and Republican parties. The program of both those parties is to uphold the capitalist system and promote the interests of the ruling rich—which are not the interests of women.

These parties have proved they will subordi-

'Union women know, or are learning, not only what divides them from men, but also what unites them. And any theory that fails to see the connection between sex and class oppression, that fails to see both what divides working people and what unites them, is a losing theory.'

nate the interests of women whenever they conflict with the needs of capitalist politics. The best example was at the 1972 convention of the Democratic party. For the first time, a significant number of women were elected delegates, and many of them were supporters of the right to abortion. The polls at that time showed that a majority of the American people supported a woman's right to choose abortion.

But when women at the convention proposed that legal abortion be included in the party's platform, the McGovern machine silenced them because McGovern wanted to be able to appeal to the more conservative interests in the Democratic party. We were treated to the disgusting spectacle of Shirley MacLaine and other feminists explaining why it was "more important" to get McGovern the nomination than to support abortion rights. It was more important to McGovern, but it was not more important for America's women.

The Democratic party is a dead end for women, or for anyone else fighting for social justice.

#### Build a Mass Movement

So what is the road forward for women? One thing we have to do is build a massive women's liberation movement. A movement of women that can reach out to the more than 100 million women in this country and involve them in struggles for our rights. This movement must be built on the campuses, in the unions, at workplaces, and in the communities.

We need a movement that can organize the power of women behind our demands. We need a strong feminist movement to push the ERA through to ratification. We need the organized power of women to defend abortion rights and the gains of affirmative-action programs—both of which are under serious attack.

A powerful feminist movement can form alliances with the Black community, the unions, and students around issues of mutual concern. But it is not enough just to be a feminist and to build a feminist movement. If women are to be completely free, it will only be in a socialist society. Serious feminists should join and help build the revolutionary socialist party, the Socialist Workers party, and the revolutionary youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance.

We need to build a party that will unite all oppressed people and organize them for a fight for power. We need a party that has no interest in upholding the status quo, a party that is not subservient to any other interests than the interests of the exploited and oppressed—neither to the capitalist class nor to the Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow or Peking.

We need a party whose only reason for existence is to make the socialist revolution.

That is what it will take to win our freedom.



Femintern Press/Nakata Hiromi

## By Matsui Yayori

I first became aware of the existence of Japanese guided tours for the purpose of visiting Korean prostitutes, called *kisaeng*,<sup>1</sup> in an article printed in a corner of a Christian newspaper during the summer of 1973. At the joint session of the Japan-Korea National Council of Christian Churches, held in Seoul in July 1973, the Christian women of Korea had made the following accusation: "We wish to call your attention to the shameful fact that many Japanese tourists, whose numbers have been ceaselessly swelling, are making Korean women into 'sexual slaves.'"

My whole body shook with the shock of realization of this "shameful fact." This was just after the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping incident, in which the leading opposition politician, who had won 44 percent of the presidential votes in South Korea in 1971, was abducted from his Tokyo hotel by South Korea Central Intelligence agents because of his outspoken criticism of the present dictatorial regime. Tacit Japanese complicity in this incident had been exposed in the Japanese press, throwing into garish relief the actual conditions surrounding Japan's economic invasion of South Korea.

When I read the statement by the Korean Christian women I realized that Japanese men were also carrying out a sexual invasion as well. I could see that nothing had really changed from

Matsui Yayori has been a journalist since 1961, working for the *Asahi Shinbun*, the most widely read Japanese daily. She is a well-known activist in the Japanese women's liberation movement. Last year she went to Mexico to report on the United Nations International Women's Year Conference.

Translator Lora Sharnoff is a Ph.D. candidate in Japanese literature at Columbia University in New York. She is currently doing research at Kyoto University on a Fulbright fellowship.

This article consists of major excerpts from the pamphlet *Why I Oppose Kisaeng Tours: Exposing Economic and Sexual Aggression Against South Korean Women*, published by Femintern Press in Japan. It is reprinted by permission. The article originally appeared in *Onna Eros*, a Japanese feminist quarterly, No. 2, 1974.

The general solution Matsui Yayori projects for the problems of sexist exploitation of South Korean and Japanese women is a "revolution in human awareness" and especially in male attitudes. While such changes in attitude should always be strived for, in our opinion a real revolution in human relations would require a socialist reorganization of the economic and political system. This article is an eloquent protest against the degradation of Asian women that is maintained and promoted by capitalism.—Editors

# Kisaeng Tours:

## Economic and Sexual Aggression Against South Korean Women

the prewar period when Japan had forced Korea to bow to its colonial and military rule. The Japanese fascist government, up until 1945, had even gone so far as to outlaw the use of the Korean language in public and had forced all Koreans to change their names to Japanese ones in an effort to destroy every vestige of Korean national culture.

Because of this imperialist legacy I felt there was something fundamentally different between Japanese kisaeng tours and the usual type of relationship established between Japanese men and the prostitutes they buy when they go to Rome or New York, or when they buy the bodies of bath girls or bar hostesses in their own country. This was a problem that could not be discussed in psychological or moral terms alone.

### Jumbo Sex

The number of Japanese tourists going to South Korea has doubled yearly since 1965,<sup>2</sup> and in 1971 Japanese outnumbered American tourists. By 1973 over 80 percent of the 500,000 foreign tourists to Korea were Japanese. Since the great majority of them were and continue to be men, it is like a giant parade of lechers.

Nineteen sixty-five was the year of the peace treaty between Japan and South Korea. On the Korean side this was pushed through by President Park Chung Hee, a former collaborator who betrayed his country and specialized in hunting down and killing nationalist resistance leaders. After the Japanese defeat, Park wasted no time in switching his allegiance to the United States, but he never forgot his old Japanese military training.

Despite popular protests in Japan, the arch-conservative prime minister of Japan, Sato Eisaku, pushed his "peace" treaty through the Japanese Diet [parliament]. Japanese businessmen had been seeking to reenter Korea ever since they were expelled in 1945, but it was only after the military coup that brought Park to power that they could start the capital flowing.

Because of the Japanese "economic miracle," which was sparked by Japanese servicing of the U.S. military in the Korean War, and the almost total devastation of the Korean country itself, this treaty represented an attempt by Japanese business to find a new unindustrialized area for investment and for cheap labor, and in this they were eagerly assisted by the Korean ruling group. Thus the treaty allowed a huge invasion of Japanese capital, mostly in terms of loans with high interest rates and an influx of Japanese businessmen, though this was not the will of the great majority of the South Korean people.

This was all made possible by the existence of the U.S. armed forces in both countries and by the wish of President Johnson that because of military difficulties in Vietnam, "peace" should be maintained at all costs between other East Asian allies. Is it for this reason perhaps that Sato, who boasted to the press about beating his wife, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize?

Therefore, Japanese men have begun to use their new-found wealth to exploit Korean women as well. At Seoul's Kimpo Airport, jumbo jets completely filled with Japanese sex animals land in a steady stream. In this way, upwards of two thousand Japanese men a day enter the country.

These men have been lured by Japan Travel Bureau, Tokyu Travel Bureau, and other prestigious travel agencies who advertise, for example, "Complete kisaeng service—a man's paradise," or "The charm of a South Korean kisaeng party." As a "morale booster," Japanese companies reward their outstanding branch office managers and salesmen with all-expenses-paid tours of South Korea's brothels. One or two nights of kisaeng parties are invariably included in the schedule, but recently, as a matter of courtesy, "optional feature" has been written into the tour brochures.

Many groups of young men cross over with their cars on the ferry boat connecting Pusan in Korea and Shimonoseki in Japan. Chartered tours of two nights and three days cost no more than \$200—including the price of sex—and a tour of three nights and four days costs only \$250—including the price of sex. South Korea has been made into a playground for Japanese men.

Tales abound of Japanese tourists sallying forth to a kisaeng party in one bus and then returning in two buses, each man accompanied by a young woman who has changed into her street clothes. Numbers of high-spirited, intoxicated, middle-aged Japanese men mill around the hotel lobby after getting off the bus with teenagers and hustle them into the elevators. They are truly sex-hungry animals, lechers swaggering about without any concern for where they are.

There are said to be more than 8,000 of these kisaeng who act as "receptacles for Japanese men's physiological discharges." Approximately 2,000 of them are reported to be authorized prostitutes who hold official registration certificates and undergo tests about twice a month to check for venereal disease. They are supposedly assigned to more than thirty kisaeng houses in Seoul alone and have official permission to use special hotels. Prostitution licenses are sold on the black market and are reputed to be a source of Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) funds. In addition to these "official prostitutes," thousands of unlicensed part-time temporary kisaeng supplement their poverty wages by catering to Japanese men.

Japanese are famous—or infamous—all over South Korea for buying women. For example, when a group of young Japanese recently went to South Korea to do research on the underground resistance fighters during the era of Japanese colonialism, they caused quite a stir at the country inn where they stopped one evening by refusing to receive the women who appeared unasked at their door. The young men were eventually reported to the local police as being suspicious characters masquerading as Japanese.

It is rare that a lone Japanese male hotel guest is not visited by a young woman who has probably been called by the hotel management.

#### Economic Aggression is the Cause

A Korean woman whose parents were brought to Japan as slave labor during World War II, and who can neither return to her homeland because of the military division of Korea by the United States and Russia, nor become a Japanese citizen unless she marries a Japanese male, bites her lip as she says: "Middle-aged Korean woman guides tell busloads of Japanese tourists that 'in our country the sanitation of kisaeng has been ensured by a special presidential order, so please enjoy yourself and don't worry.' A president who prostitutes the young women of his own country! I'd like to kill such a president."

The South Korean minister of education has decreed that "the sincerity of girls who have contributed with their cunts to their fatherland's economic development is indeed praiseworthy."

This statement about national pimping has become notorious in the Korean community in Japan.

It is reported that prospective kisaeng must endure lectures by male university professors on the crucial role of tourism in the South Korean economy before they can get their prostitution licenses.<sup>3</sup>

Why is it that the South Korean government is so interested in earning foreign capital from prostitution? Chung Kyung Mo, editor of the *National Times*, a resistance newsletter published by Koreans in Japan, explains it this way: "Due to the distorted economic relations between Japan and Korea whereby Japan forces huge loans, which can only be used for buying Japanese products, on South Korea—all in the name of 'economic cooperation'—South Korea now suffers a balance of trade deficit of more than two billion dollars. In order to compensate for this the government forces young women to sell their bodies in order to directly earn foreign exchange."

"Japan gives high-interest loans to South Korea which are then used by the government to build such things as aluminum plants and subways. Not only is the price charged by Japan for these subway cars very high, but it is further raised by the kickbacks that must be given to Korean officials."

"South Korean native industry cannot generate enough capital to pay back the loan and the government is forced to borrow more money just to pay off the interest charges due on the original loan. Thus the South Korean government relies on 'irregular industries,' such as prostitution, to bring in scarce foreign capital."

"Because Japanese loans come with 'strings attached' and are designed to inhibit South

Korean industry and make South Korea totally dependent on Japanese financing and technology, the balance of trade becomes ever more unfavorable. In addition, Japanese capital invested in South Korea is used for labor-intensive industries in which great numbers of South Korean laborers can be forced to work long hours for minuscule wages to produce export goods that South Koreans themselves are too poor to buy.

"In collusion with the South Korean military government, Japanese industries located in South Korea depress the price of farm goods so that large numbers of farmers are unable to live off their land and flock to the big cities, forming a great pool of surplus labor that is prohibited by law from striking. Thus many of South Korea's farmers end up in city slums and the government is forced to import even foodstuffs in order to support its industrialization and export-oriented economy. Therefore South Korea must solicit foreign currency through tourism."

During the late 1960s, the United States government paid about \$1 billion for mercenary troops from South Korea to fight in South Vietnam. Now the South Korean government is profiting from the bodies of its young women instead of from the blood of its young men.

In 1973, the South Korean government set a goal for the year of 500,000 tourists and 100 million tourist dollars; but this figure had already been reached in June 1973, and the total figure for 1973 is likely to be 700,000 tourists and \$300 million.

It is reported that typical kisaeng rates for single customers are \$60 a night in Seoul and \$50 in Pusan. A kisaeng party costs from \$40 to \$50 per member. In addition, Japanese men often spend \$150 or more for various services. So if three jets carrying 300 passengers land in South Korea every day, South Korea will then be able to amass millions of dollars in foreign capital. Prostitution pays.

If the women who become kisaeng were to work in a factory, their salaries might not even reach \$30 a month. But as kisaeng, they receive a larger income for the "labor of spending a night in a luxury hotel." South Korea has no Social Security or public health insurance, so when a working person loses his or her job or becomes ill, the whole family faces the specter of literal starvation. Under these circumstances, some women are forced to sell their bodies just to stay alive.

At the heart of South Korea's foreign trade deficit and the hardships of her people is the economic exploitation practiced by United States and Japanese business interests. And on top of economic imperialism, sexual imperialism! With the profits reaped by paying minuscule wages to workers, foreign businessmen buy the bodies of South Korean women. Kisaeng tours epitomize

the ugly relationship between economic and sexual exploitation.

#### Forced Prostitution for the Japanese Army

Japanese men, who now treat South Korean women as commodities to be bought and thrown away, carry the criminal record of having in the 1930s and 1940s hunted down Korean women and forced them at gunpoint to join the "Women's Volunteer Corps." These women were sent off as army prostitutes to "comfort" Japanese soldiers on the World War II war fronts in China and Southeast Asia. Japanese men are now repeating this infamous history.

The Japanese colonial government, which ruled over Korea as a conquered territory, drafted all women eighteen years and older as "volunteers." In all, about 200,000 women were rounded up and forced to work for the war effort. The middle-aged women were dispatched to work in war-supplies factories; between 50,000 and 70,000 women under twenty-three years old were forced to become Imperial Army prostitutes, offering their flesh to sex-craving Japanese soldiers.

Some young Korean women were unable to bear the humiliation and committed suicide. Others, upon receiving their requisition notices, fled to the mountains and eventually starved to death.

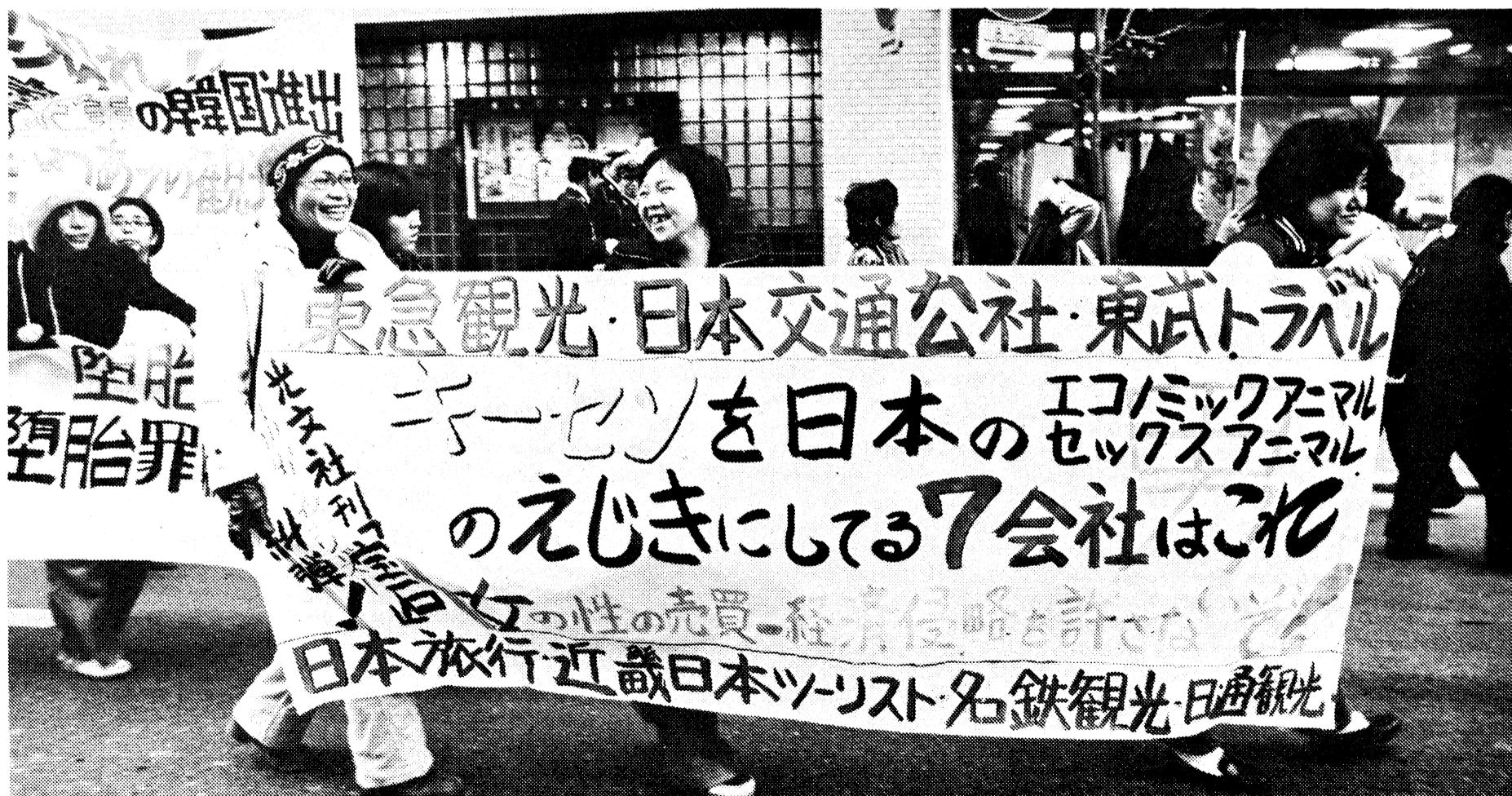
Japan, whose army not so long ago pillaged Korea of its women, is now turning the southern half of the peninsula into a red-light district. I keenly feel that the contempt for, and ethnic discrimination against, the Korean people, produced by thirty-six years of colonial domination (from 1910 to 1945), is still deeply ingrained in the thinking of modern Japanese people. A Japanese journalist who visited South Korea remarked, "To go openly in groups to buy women without any regard for shame or the opinions of the people around them constitutes an insult to the Korean people. Japanese can act so arrogantly only because they still regard Korea as a subservient colony."

What a grotesque example of sexism overlaid with ethnic discrimination.

#### Government Sponsors Prostitution

Here I would like to be absolutely clear about the horrifying fact that *state power compels prostitution*. A Korean resident of Japan expressed her anger against South Korean President Park's regime: "What other government would sell its own daughters' bodies to foreigners?" We need not look far for the answer to this question—the Japanese government.

After its defeat in World War II, the Japanese government hastily set about to present Japanese women as "comfort girls" to the United



Tokyo demonstration against 'kisaeng' tours. Banner lists names of travel bureaus and says: 'These are the seven agencies that provide kisaeng as fodder for the Japanese "economic-sex animals." We cannot condone the sale of women's sexuality and economic invasion of women.'

Michiko Matsumoto

States occupation forces. It is reported that at the cabinet meeting held on August 21, 1945, only six days after the surrender, Konoe Fumimaro, then state minister without portfolio, made the following proposal: "We must take emergency measures to protect our women and children from sex-starved American soldiers."

Three days later, the Metropolitan Police Headquarters began to gather members of the red-light trade and requested: "As a stopgap measure to protect the flowerlike purity of 40 million respectable Japanese women, we would like you to open facilities to 'comfort' the American troops."

The government proposed to indirectly contribute 50 million yen (roughly equivalent to \$5 million at the present exchange rate) to help meet their expenses. The central figure in these dealings between the government and the red-light trade was Ikeda Hayato, the director of the Finance Ministry's Tax Bureau and later prime minister of Japan!

A ceremony to proclaim the establishment of the "Association for the Creation of Special Recreational Facilities" (later the "Recreation and Amusement Association," nicknamed RAA), which actually should have been called the "government prostitution league," was held in the square in front of the Imperial Palace on August 28 to coincide with the landing of the first contingent of American occupation troops.

Soon the first RAA-sponsored army brothel, Komachi Garden,<sup>4</sup> was opened in the Omori district of Tokyo. RAA army brothels literally sprouted up before the smoke could clear from the bombed-out rubble of Tokyo, and within three months there were twenty-five of them. At its height, RAA is said to have employed 70,000 "comfort girls."

But within six months the RAA had collapsed. After the war the system for checking venereal disease was almost totally ineffective, so many of the occupation soldiers became infected. Finally, in March 1946, the Occupation General Headquarters (GHQ) formally forbade entry of its personnel into RAA-run brothels.

Earlier, in January, the GHQ submitted a memorandum to the Japanese government stating, "The system of legalized prostitution is a violation of the ideals of democracy and will be abolished." This was the origin of the Japanese law passed in 1957 prohibiting prostitution. But the police did their best to water down the GHQ memorandum, thus protecting the vested interests of the male brothel owners.<sup>5</sup>

A declaration issued by South Korean Christian women charges, "Our fellow countrywomen have become the sexual slaves of Japanese men." Both kisaeng and the geishas have been victimized in the same way: they have been offered by their own governments as sacrificial lambs to men of invading foreign powers. But here I think lies a basis for women in both Japan and South Korea to establish a common bond of oppression. The outrages committed against kisaeng do not occur in a vacuum; they are profoundly related to the contempt shown by Japanese men for the women of their own country.

### Solidarity of Women Transcends National Boundaries

An angry reaction against Japanese kisaeng tours has been spreading quietly but steadily inside South Korea.

In December 1973, students from Ehwa Women's University demonstrated against Japanese arriving on kisaeng tours at Seoul's Kimpo Airport. They demanded:

"Behind the facade of promoting tourism in our country our fellow women are being made into commodities and their precious human rights are being ignored. We can no longer permit our sisters' bodies to be sold to bring in foreign capital. What good will come of corrupting the spirit in order to earn dollars? Many years have passed since our country was liberated from Japanese colonial rule. Why must our women still act as commodities to be sold for filthy Japanese money? We demand an immediate end to brothel-tourism, which is making our country into a sexual playground for Japanese men."

Almost simultaneously, the proceedings of the "Citizens Committee to Abolish Kisaeng Tours," held in Seoul, was broadcast on Japanese television. A middle-aged woman, wiping her tears with a handkerchief, clenched her fist. An

old bearded man twisted his face trying not to cry. The facial expressions of those Korean people who were being oppressed by my own countrymen were so poignant that it was painful for me to watch them. Students, Christian women, and old people are unanimous in denouncing Japanese sexual exploitation.

For a while the Japanese women who opposed kisaeng tours were unsure about what action to take, but the powerful appeals made by Korean women had a galvanizing effect. In December 1973, the Assembly of Women Opposed to Kisaeng Tours was established in Tokyo. Two days after the demonstration held by the students at Ehwa Women's University, Japanese women demonstrated at Tokyo's Haneda Airport on Christmas Day. About fifty women—students, housewives, and workers of all ages—confronted the Japanese male tourists leaving on kisaeng tours with leaflets and with slogans painted on their vests, including: "Aren't you ashamed to go on group brothel tours?" and "Go to hell, sex animals!"

### 'With the profits reaped by paying minuscule wages to workers, foreign businessmen buy the bodies of South Korean women. Kisaeng tours epitomize the ugly relationship between economic and sexual exploitation.'

Indignantly they stated: "Previously Japan colonized and pillaged Korea, raping many of her daughters as army prostitutes. Now they go back to the same land and disgrace her women again, this time with money. The Japanese government, under the name of economic assistance, is actively cooperating with the institution of brothel tours. We must not permit our husbands, lovers, brothers, and associates to go to South Korea to buy women."

Even this small demonstration was suppressed by the Japanese police; but their power could not crush the budding solidarity between the women of both countries.<sup>6</sup>

### An Indictment of Male Chauvinism in Japan

In creating bonds with the women of South Korea, Japanese women must attack the roots of male chauvinism in the attitudes of Japanese men. They must examine why Japanese men feel the need to go to South Korea in big groups to buy women. Does the reason why they squander away their hard-earned savings without a second thought lie perhaps in their fantasies of momentary escape from their frustrating daily lives?

In spite of such diversions, Japanese men lead a spiritually bleak and desolate existence. Ordinarily they hide their misery behind the facade of moneymaking or a "successful" career; and in their little spare time, they try to find solace in a pinball game called *pachinko*, or in Mah-Jongg, liquor, and group tours. Are these the only means people have to dispel meaninglessness from their lives? Although Japan has recently attained an impressive-looking gross national product, we Japanese lead a rather impoverished spiritual life.

Although hundreds of thousands of Japanese men have visited South Korea, all they pay attention to is female flesh. They return to Japan without having learned anything about the impoverished conditions caused by U.S. and Japanese manipulation of the economy, about the repressive political situation which allows the kisaeng system to exist, or about the history of Korean-Japanese relations. It is no exaggeration to call these Japanese men "economic animals" as well as "sexual animals."

The distorted and numb sensitivities of Japanese men can be seen in their relationships with women in general. If Japanese men created a world in which they were fulfilled both spiritually and physically by love for women whom they recognized as independent human beings with unique personalities, then they wouldn't need to rush so pitifully after the women of our neighbor-

ing country. Because they debase their own women as house slaves or prostitutes, Japanese men feel no compunction about raping foreign women with their money.

Both Japanese and Korean women share the condition of being held in contempt by Japanese men. But most Japanese women—especially Japanese housewives—though they frown on kisaeng tourism, are not so much, in the bottom of their hearts, criticizing their husbands as they are feeling resentment against the kisaeng who steal their husbands. Others gloss over their husbands' actions with a feeling of superiority toward the foreign women of the entertainment trade. Such Japanese women are secretly proud of being a "lawfully wedded wife," thereby discriminating against other women, whom they cast in the role of rivals.

Most Japanese women have not yet seen that being a lawfully wedded wife is also no more than an illusion. Thus Japanese men maintain the family system through divide-and-rule tactics in which they pit women against each other. Maintaining a facade of respect for their wives, Japanese men reveal their contempt for them by constantly commuting to the homes of their mistresses.

Therefore, in order to put a halt to kisaeng tours, Japanese women must continue to expose Japanese male chauvinism in all its forms. It is not enough simply to denounce the rotten political and economic connections that distort Korean-Japanese relations. We must also squarely face the problem of the scorn for Koreans festering in the minds of so many Japanese. And we must radically—in the true sense of that word—alter the consciousness of Japanese men: for only through a revolution in human awareness can the shameful system of kisaeng tours be ended.

We must realize our own responsibilities in the problems of these South Korean women. Sisterhood is powerful and international.

The following is an abridged version of supplementary notes written by the Femintern editorial staff.

1. *Kisaeng*, or "artist entertainers," played a major role in the creation of Korea's unique culture. While male poets spent most of their time trying to write Chinese-style verses, for example, kisaeng utilized the powerful sounds and rhythms of their native language.

For hundreds of years kisaeng were the women intellectuals of Korea. There were several universities where kisaeng spent years mastering all aspects of the arts, and they were the only women privileged to have enough free time to create new art forms as well. Kisaeng were not prostitutes, and they took as lovers only those men they found personally appealing.

Western and Japanese powers forced their way into Korea in the late nineteenth century, and Japan officially colonized the country in 1910. This resulted in great economic hardships for the Korean people, who were forced to toil for the profit of Japanese industrialists and militarists, and the old institution of independent, intellectual kisaeng began to decline. Stories abound of kisaeng who, being forced to become the mistresses of Japanese military officers, acted as spies for the Korean underground resistance movement.

Since World War II and the Korean War, more and more young women have been forced to sell themselves merely to survive, and the word kisaeng has come to mean prostitute. There are said to be two or three true kisaeng still performing in Seoul, the last practitioners of a dying art.

2. This was the year of the Japan-Korea Economic Normalization Treaty, which marked the rise in Japanese involvement in Korea alongside U.S. involvement. This article was originally written for Japanese readers and concentrates on Japan's role, but readers should keep in mind that similar problems of sexual and economic exploitation have resulted from America's invasion as well. The stationing of U.S. troops in Korea and Japan provides many clients for South Korean brothels.

3. "Nihonjin Kankokyaku" (Japanese Tourists), *Shintoa*, January 1974, Dong A-Ilbo Publishers (South Korea).

4. This title is particularly ironic since it uses the name of Japan's greatest lyric poet, Ono no Komachi, who wrote during the late ninth century. She was an independent and imposing figure, who rejected most of her suitors. In later centuries, after the male-oriented warrior class came to dominate Japanese culture, she was said to have lacked a vaginal opening and therefore to have been an inborn man-hater. This is nonsense, as anyone who has read her passionate and brilliant love poems can see. The use of Komachi's name by the RAA would be the equivalent in English of "Emily Dickinson Pleasure Parlor."

5. Kobayashi Taijiro and Murase Akira, *Kokka Baishun Meirei Monogatari* (The Story of the National Prostitution Order), Ozankaku Publishers.

6. "Kisen Kanko: Sei Shimryaku o Kokuhatsu Suru" (Kisaeng Tours: A Denunciation of Sexual Exploitation), a pamphlet of the Kisen Kanko ni Hantai suru Onnatachi no Kai (Assembly of Women Opposed to Kisaeng Tours).

# The Struggle of Puerto Rican Women

**'While all Puerto Ricans are oppressed as a people, the women are the most oppressed segment of our nation, concentrated in the most miserable jobs and suffering discrimination in all areas of life. We are doubly oppressed and must fight both oppressions.'**

By Andrea Lubrano

Puerto Rico has been a colony since Columbus accidentally found it in 1493—first a colony of Spain, and later, after the Spanish-American War, of the United States. This colonial status has caused great economic hardship on the island. Today Puerto Rico has an official unemployment rate of 20 percent—and when so-called discouraged workers are counted, that figure doubles. More than 70 percent of all families in Puerto Rico are so poor that they receive food stamps.

Unemployment and poverty, the direct products of colonialism, lead to migration to the imperialist center, an indirect product of the same system.

Puerto Rican immigrants in the United States mirror the position of Puerto Ricans on the island. They have a higher unemployment rate than either whites or Blacks. As of 1970, one out of every three lived in poverty.

It is within this context of general oppression that we must look at the Puerto Rican woman.

The history of Puerto Rico reveals the roots and nature of the oppression of Puerto Rican women. The Taino Indians—the original inhabitants of the island—lived in a communal, matriarchal society where women were not oppressed. Women participated in all spheres of life—religious, economic, and athletic—equally with men. They had the same sexual freedom as men.

The arrival of the Spanish brought private property and a type of feudal system to the island, and with it the oppression of the Indians in general and Indian women in particular. The Spanish divided up the island, giving pieces of land, together with a certain number of Indians, to the Spanish settlers.

The Indian women were especially oppressed. Not only were they forced to work in the fields and to look in the rivers for gold, but they were raped and kept as concubines.

When most of the Indians had died off from disease or had been killed by the hardships of the work, which they were not used to, or by bloody repression of their frequent uprisings, the Spanish brought Black slaves to the island. Like the Indian women, the Black women were forced to work in the fields; they were raped. Unlike the Indian women, the Black women were forced to mate like pedigree dogs to produce children with the desired qualities for work in the fields.

The Spanish woman faced other forms of oppression. She went from the iron rule of her father to the iron rule of her husband. She was kept under a strict chaperone system or was confined to her house, reflecting the view that women have no morals and thus need supervision.

The anticolonial uprising called El Grito de Lares, which took place in 1868, is said by historians to mark the formation of the Puerto Rican people as distinct from all others—the blending of Indian, Black, and Spanish races and cultures. It also marked the solidification of the distinct forms of oppression of women in Puerto Rican society. The take-over of Puerto Rico by the United States in 1898—as booty from the Spanish-American War—had no immediate effect on the position of Puerto Rican women; U.S. rule continued the economic, legal, and biological oppression they had faced previously.

## La Chancleta

A Puerto Rican woman, from her birth, is called *la chancleta*, the slipper. The slipper, of

course, is a piece of footwear of little value, kept close to the floor and used primarily in the house. This term reflected the position of Puerto Rican women in society until about 1948.

The year 1948 marks the beginning of industrialization on the island—called “Operation Bootstrap”—and the beginning of migration to cities in the United States. Industrialization and migration put a heel on the slipper, but just a small heel, just enough to enable it to leave the house for the lowest-paying, least prestigious and least secure jobs. In other words, the shift from an agricultural to an industrial economy shifted the position of woman from that of a house object to part of the reserve army of workers.

Women in Puerto Rico made up 31 percent of the work force in 1972. Nearly 60 percent of the working women in Puerto Rico are employed in light factory work, government, or commercial jobs. Women constitute 44 percent of all municipal employees and three-fourths of all garment workers. Their wages are, on the average, 17.4 percent lower than the weekly wage for men in the same industry.



Beginning in 1919, and especially in 1948, the Puerto Rican government passed a series of supposedly protective laws for women. Some of these laws say, for example, that women must have a twenty-minute break for every four hours of work; that women can only work the day shift in most job categories; that if women work overtime after dark the employer must provide safe transportation home; and women are prohibited from working for a certain period before and after childbirth.

These laws have had the effect of “protecting” women right out of employment. Employers see women as an encumbrance and therefore hire men first.

The position of Puerto Rican women in the United States is basically the same as on the island. They are employed primarily in service, clerical, and light industrial work. The unemployment rate for Puerto Rican women in 1973 was 10.9 percent, higher than for all other categories of women and all categories of men.

Although there are fewer restrictive laws for the employment of women in the United States, there is the unlegislated discrimination against

women, against nonwhites, and against non-English-speaking persons, to which the Puerto Rican woman falls victim.

Another form of oppression of Puerto Rican women is reflected in the high rate of sterilization. One-third of all Puerto Rican women on the island between the ages of fifteen and forty-nine have been sterilized. This high sterilization rate does not stem from the desires and choices of the Puerto Rican women themselves; it is the island government's plan to halt “overpopulation.” At the same time that the government proposes mass sterilization, government-run hospitals generally refuse to perform abortions.

The number of Puerto Rican women being sterilized in New York City hospitals is growing at such a rate that Puerto Rican organizations, women's groups, and health-rights groups have organized to demand regulations to ensure that women are informed of the nature of the operation and that it is truly voluntary.

When the government's secret plans to mass-sterilize Puerto Rican women became public in 1974 through protests by the Catholic church on the island, it had a big effect on women in Puerto Rico. This revelation followed the results of a commission on civil rights conducted in Puerto Rico in 1972, which acknowledged the secondary status of women. The commission's findings were suppressed by the government. These two developments gave impetus to the formation in 1972 of MIA (Mujer, ¡Intégrate Ahora!—Women, Join Together Now!), the first women's liberation group on the island in recent history.

MIA demanded that the recommendations of the commission on civil rights in relation to women be made public and be implemented. In addition, they worked to expose the “protective” laws as discriminatory, as well as protesting the mass sterilization plans. MIA has demanded that the government make information about contraceptives and the contraceptives themselves available to women. And they have protested the government's backhanded methods of keeping women from obtaining legal abortions.

MIA's formation was followed by the formation of the Federación de Mujeres Puertorriqueñas (Federation of Puerto Rican Women). Among the initiators of this group were a number of women labor leaders and some supporters of the Puerto Rican Socialist party. Its aim is to gain equal rights for women within the labor movement, to fight for enforcement of a provision in the Puerto Rican constitution outlawing sex discrimination, to demand the establishment of child-care centers, to demand elimination of “protective” laws that discriminate against women, and to mobilize working women to join unions.

The impact of the women's liberation struggle was also reflected in the adoption of a special resolution in support of women's equality at the second congress of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, held in December of last year.

Thus, women in Puerto Rico have begun to realize that they suffer a special oppression as women in addition to their oppression as Puerto Ricans, and have begun moving to organize to combat that special oppression.

Organization by Puerto Rican women in the United States has not progressed as far as on the island, although there has been acknowledgement of the special oppression of women within the Puerto Rican Left in the United States since 1970.

In that year the Young Lords party put forth a revised version of their thirteen-point program, point five of which reads: “We want equality for women. Down with Machismo and Male Chauvinism.”

“Under capitalism, women have been oppressed by both society and our men. The doctrine of machismo has been used by men to

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take out their frustrations on wives, sisters, mothers, and children. Men must fight along with sisters in the struggle for economic and social equality and must recognize that sisters make up over half of the revolutionary army: sisters and brothers are equals fighting for our people. Forward sisters in the struggle!"

The Young Lords, however, did not attempt to organize women around concrete demands to help them win equality. The Young Lords opposed the right to abortion, even though this right is one of the first steps toward equality for women. It gives a woman some control over the one thing that is really hers—her body.

Two years later, in 1972, Puerto Rican women attempting to organize themselves held the first and last annual conference on Puerto Rican women in Brooklyn, New York. Other attempts were made to organize on the campuses. For example, a Puerto Rican Women's Caucus was formed at Brooklyn College in 1973. However, Puerto Rican men at the college opposed the separate organization of women as "divisive," and put pressure on these women to stop meeting.

### Machismo

One topic frequently raised by Puerto Rican women and other Latinas is the problem of machismo. Machismo is taught to all Puerto Rican children just as we are taught to obey our elders and to be humble. Machismo says that men are innately superior to women, and that therefore men should relate to women as adults relate to children. A man must take care of a woman, tell her what to do, and when she gets out of line, get her back into line by whatever means work best.

One manifestation of machismo is the "protective" laws for women in Puerto Rico. Another manifestation is the old *jíbaro*\* expression that "a man should keep his woman barefoot and pregnant." That is, a man will decide when a woman will get pregnant and the woman will give birth.

Machismo, *per se*, is a set of attitudes. Puerto Rican women need to mobilize ourselves against the concrete manifestations of those attitudes, especially those that have been institutionalized and upheld by the government, such as unequal pay, discrimination in employment and education, and the denial of the rights to contraception and abortion.

We must control our own bodies and have

\*A Puerto Rican peasant or rural laborer.



Puerto Rico Libre!

babies when we want to have babies, not when the man decides for us. We must blow up the *jíbaro* expression about keeping us barefoot and pregnant. We must fight to eliminate "protective" laws that actually act as a basis for discrimination against women; those laws that really protect the health and safety of women should be extended to men.

### Is the Struggle of Women 'Divisive'?

Puerto Rican women have been told by some people in the Puerto Rican movement and in the Black movement that women's liberation is for white women only. We have been told that abortion is a white woman's right but would mean genocide for the Puerto Rican woman. We have also been told that white women can afford to fight separately from their men—but Puerto Ricans are oppressed and therefore the obligation of all Puerto Ricans is to fight for the liberation of our people. Any attempt of women to fight against their special oppression is called "divisive."

At first thought this all seems to make sense—it made sense to me for years. But when you look more closely, you see that these arguments stem from the same machismo taught to us all.

In regard to abortion: There is a basis for the fear of genocide, when we remember that one-third of all Puerto Rican women in their reproductive years have been sterilized and that the birth-control pill was first tested on Puerto Rican women, who were used as guinea pigs. But it must be made clear that the issue of abortion involves the right of a woman to choose by herself whether or not to bear a child. To have no recourse but childbirth or sterilization gives the woman no choice.

To control our own bodies, women must fight against forced sterilization, and against compelling welfare mothers to accept contraceptives against their will, at the same time as we fight to receive contraceptives when we want them and for the right to safe, legal abortions.

When we look at the second argument—that Puerto Ricans must fight only as a people—what it really says is that all the problems of Puerto Ricans simply come from national oppression. But while all Puerto Ricans are oppressed as a people, statistics prove that we, the Puerto Rican women, are the most oppressed segment of that oppressed nation. We suffer higher unemployment rates and a higher concentration in the most miserable jobs, as well as discrimination in all areas of life. Therefore, Puerto Rican women are doubly oppressed and must fight both oppressions.

The Puerto Rican woman has historically turned from a *chancleta*, a slipper, to a boot in defense of her people against oppression. María Bracetti fought with Ramón Emeterio Betances against the Spanish in 1868. Luisa Capetillo organized workers to fight against their exploitation at the turn of the century. Blanca Canales fought with Pedro Albizu Campos against U.S. colonialism in the 1950s. And Lolita Lebrón led an ill-fated protest against U.S. oppression of her people.

Puerto Rican women need to unite to fight their special oppression as women just as they have united to fight against the general oppression of all Puerto Rican people.

It will take the struggle of both men and women to win the independence of Puerto Rico. But this does not negate the necessity of women building our own movement. As the Puerto Rican woman begins to recognize the depth of her oppression, she will move to form alliances with all revolutionary forces available, and will settle for nothing less than the complete destruction of this racist, capitalist, male-dominated system, both in Puerto Rico and in the United States.

## LETTERS

**Editors:** In reading the *International Socialist Review* for November 1975, "Prospects for Socialism in America," very little was said about ecology. I feel I can add a little extra.

The capitalist, in his insatiable quest for higher profits, has polluted the atmosphere, earth, and water. The capitalist industrialists always complain it costs them too much money to install safety devices to keep the pollution down in the factories, yet these same industries will allocate millions of dollars to the Pentagon for the making of new weapons.

Our environment is deteriorating faster than we think. The fish are dying at alarming rates. There must be a halt somewhere. Our very existence depends on the environment that we live in and it is slowly being destroyed before our very eyes.

I read in the *New York Times* recently that the capitalists are saying that the Environmental Protection Agency and the Food and Drug Administration are hindering them from making larger profits by making them buy expensive safety parts for industry and upgrading

their productivity process.

Strip mining is very detrimental to our environment, stripping the land for all its inherent resources and leaving the land useless. Pollution of our drinking water by big industries cannot and must not be tolerated!

There must be an independent inquiry, independent of the government.

The aerosol sprays are also destroying our atmosphere. The ozone layer which protects us from the sun's harmful rays is weakening from all different types of sprays.

There is a commercial on television that bears an awful lot of truth. It stars a crying Indian who states that "people start pollution, people can stop it." However, the people who perpetrate pollution are the capitalist class. The people who will terminate pollution will be the working class.

P.B.  
Corona, L.I., New York

**Editors:** The recent speech by Peter Camejo [February issue] was very good. One thing, however, at first reading, appeared to be peculiar. That was in the section of the speech where Camejo discusses bureaucracy in the workers states. It appears there that Cuba is lumped together with China and the USSR as examples of countries that have

developed bureaucracies that must be overthrown.

I could not recall any analysis in the *International Socialist Review* that carried that position. So I went back and reread the article. I then noted that there had been a careful separation of Cuba from China and the USSR. I'd simply like to point out that there is a qualitative difference between the bureaucracies in China and the USSR, where a political revolution is needed, and the problem of institutionalizing democracy in Cuba.

Catarino Garza  
New York, New York

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

*Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science.* Edited by Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter. Anchor Press, 400 pp., paper \$3.50.

*Cuba in the 1970s: Pragmatism and Institutionalization* by Carmelo Mesa-Lago. The University of New Mexico Press, 179 pp., cloth \$9.95, paper \$3.95.

*The Disposal of Liberty and Other Industrial Wastes* by Edgar Z. Friedenberg. Doubleday & Company, \$7.95.

*The Economic Crisis Reader.* Edited by David Mermelstein. Vintage Books, paper \$4.95.

*The Life and Death of Leon Trotsky* by Victor Serge and Natalia

Sedova Trotsky. Basic Books, 296 pp., \$10.95.

*Ludwig Bamberger: German Liberal Politician and Social Critic, 1823-1899* by Stanley Zucker. University of Pittsburgh Press, 343 pp., \$14.95.

*More Power Than We Know: People's Movement Toward Democracy* by David Dellinger. Anchor Press, 336 pp., paper \$3.95.

*On the Creation of a Just World Order* by Saul H. Mendlovitz. North-Holland Publishing Company, 302 pp., \$22.95.

*Power and the Soviet Elite: "The Letter of an Old Bolshevik" and Other Essays* by Boris Nicolaevsky. Edited by Janet D. Zagoris. Introduction by George Kennan. University of Michigan Press. \$8.95, paper \$4.95.

*Reluctant Reformers: Racism and Social Reform Movements in the United States* by Robert Allen. Anchor Press, 360 pp. \$3.50.

*Social Planning for Canada* by the League for Social Reconstruction. University of Toronto Press. \$6.50.

*Soldiers in Revolt* by David Cortright. Anchor/Doubleday, 317 pp. \$7.95.

*Studies on the Interior of Russia* by August von Haxthausen. University of Chicago Press, 328 pp. Paper \$4.95.

*The Trojan Horse: A Radical Look at Foreign Aid*, revised 1975 edition by Steve Weissman and members of Pacific Studies Center and the North American Congress on Latin America. Ramparts Press, 249 pp. \$10.00, paper \$3.95.

# How Women Won the Right to Vote

In the fight for women's liberation today, much can be learned from studying how victories were won by women in the past. Contrary to the theories of most historians, female suffrage was won through militant mass action and the winning of allies among the labor movement and other oppressed groups.

By Stephanie Coontz

The widespread interest in women's history, stimulated by the feminist movement, has called forth scores of books devoted to the first wave of American feminism—the woman suffrage movement. Many of these add valuable data to the descriptive history of that movement, though the most comprehensive is still Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959). But there has yet to come out a first-rate, thoroughgoing analysis of the actual process by which woman suffrage was achieved.

The woman suffrage movement offers an instructive case study in how women can fight for their rights and win. The process of winning female suffrage contradicts the view—prevalent among bourgeois politicians, news media, and academics—that the way to win demands for social justice is to curry favor with influential politicians, compromise with reactionary prejudices of sectors of the population, and generally "lie low" so as not to antagonize one's enemies. However, none of the major histories of the suffrage struggle recognize this important lesson.

Most recent historians have correctly rejected the idea that woman suffrage was freely bestowed on the nation by a magnanimous ruling class. They have studied the internal development of the women's movement, assuming, as William O'Neill puts it, "that the choices women made or failed to make were important and deserving of analysis" (*Everyone Was Brave*, Chicago: Quadrangle, 1971).

The most widely accepted analysis of the suffrage movement is the one presented by Aileen Kraditor in *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement 1890-1920* (New York: Anchor, 1971). Kraditor argues that the early women's rights movement was organized around idealistic demands for "justice," but that by the turn of the century the movement had entered a new, opportunistic phase. In this period the suffragists based their case on "expediency," coupling the prosuffrage campaign with elitist, racist, nativist, and anti-working-class arguments where they believed this would garner support.

She also implies, albeit reluctantly, that at least some of this opportunism was required for success. She states: "To win support from needed allies they compromised . . . perhaps more than the requirements of the alliances dictated." But her conclusion remains that "the hard facts of political life" did dictate some accommodation to racism and conservatism—"concessions to political expediency."

There are two major problems with Kraditor's thesis. First, her periodization of the movement into early idealism and later opportunism is incorrect. Second, her assumption that concessions to racism and elitism were in fact "expedient" is not supported by the evidence.

## Racist Attitudes

The first women's rights convention in America was held at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. It was organized by female abolitionists who in the process of working against slavery had also discovered their own oppression as women. There was a close alliance between abolitionism and women's rights up through the Civil War.

At that time, however, the movement was effectively divided by the issue of suffrage for

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Trade-union women's contingents are prominent in this suffrage march entering Washington Square Park in New York City in 1913.

Black males. The women's movement split into two groups over whether to support the Fifteenth Amendment, and did not reunify until 1890, when the two merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association. During this post-Civil War period a large section of the woman suffrage movement exhibited racism, a reflection of widespread attitudes in American society. This was the period of the final campaigns against the Indians, the consolidation of Jim Crow, the first imperialist ventures, and the anti-Chinese hysteria in the West.

However, contrary to Kraditor's thesis, there was a growing rejection of the most flagrant forms of racism after 1900, despite the conservatism of many sections of the movement.

Although the NAWSA took a hands-off policy toward a 1908 Mississippi scheme to exclude Blacks and to link woman suffrage with opposition to interracial marriage, the plan was opposed energetically by Alice Stone Blackwell, the recording secretary of the NAWSA and editor of *Woman's Journal*.

By 1911, the NAWSA was reorganized, drastically reducing Southern influence. The most virulent racists, led by Kate Gordon, broke off to form the Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference.

Elizabeth Freeman reported in the May 1913 *Socialist Woman*, a Socialist party publication, that suffragists at conventions held in St. Louis and Chicago had refused to accept the racial barriers erected by the hotel managements.

Kraditor is right to point out that many suffragists argued their case in the most reactionary terms, often claiming that woman suffrage would increase the white and native-born vote. In the South and Midwest many women proposed poll qualifications that would exclude Black and Chicano women from the vote. Some state suffrage organizations gave support to bills that limited voting rights to whites or to the wealthy. Such actions and attitudes marred the woman suffrage movement from its inception right up to the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment, and it is true that they increased in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

But this is not the whole story, or even most of it. The NAWSA as a national organization never endorsed the limited suffrage bills proposed in

some states, and in some cases actually led battles against its affiliates doing so. Thus in 1910 Lena Morrow Lewis was able to report to the Socialist party convention:

"When it came in Illinois to the point where the association had a chance to come out and perhaps get a limited suffrage, the state president for Illinois said: 'No; we stand for the unlimited suffrage. . . . We want all that we stand for, and shall fight until we get it.'

"In Oklahoma the Democratic party said to the suffrage association: 'You can have this measure go through provided you will stand with us on the grandfather clause.' . . . That virtually disfranchises the entire colored race. The suffrage association [representative] . . . said to the women there: 'I don't know where you stand, but if you stand for this grandfather clause I quit the state of Oklahoma; the National Association will withdraw its support and we shall have nothing to do with you.' And the women of the Woman's Suffrage Association of Oklahoma every last one of them stood against that grandfather clause."

## Suffrage and the Labor Movement

Some suffrage leaders had strong middle-class prejudices against working people and did not support labor unions. In the 1870s, for example, Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote in *The Revolution*—the organ of what most historians term the more radical wing of the suffrage movement—that "the worst enemies of Woman's Suffrage will ever be the laboring class of men."

Stanton was wrong, however, and by the turn of the century, many suffragists reconsidered their antilabor views in the light of facts demonstrating that working people represented a powerful ally of the women's movement.

In Colorado, for instance, the only difference between the 1877 vote, where suffrage lost, and the 1893 vote, where it won, was that the second campaign, according to Alan Grimes (*The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1967]), "had the support of the labor organizations," which it had lacked in 1877.

In 1896 Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper examined the defeat of suffrage in California and concluded it could not be attributed to the lower classes and the foreign-born. In *The History of Woman Suffrage* they noted that

in San Francisco, "a larger percentage of the opposition" came from "the district containing the so-called best people." In 1906 Anna Howard Shaw was impressed that, though woman suffrage was defeated in Oregon, it received the most votes in the hours when working men went to the polls.

Thus Kraditor (and Grimes, who makes the strongest argument for the association of woman suffrage with reactionary causes) is wrong to imply that there was any connection between conservatism and victory.

In a number of states, gains for woman suffrage were closely connected with the work of the Socialist party. In Nevada, Kansas, and New York especially, the SP threw itself into the suffrage battle. The *Rochester Herald* complained on November 7, 1917, "Wherever the Socialist . . . propaganda made headway . . . the suffrage vote was automatically increased."

In New York, it was the vote of immigrant workers that won the woman suffrage bill in the election of 1917.

Kraditor is correct—despite her oversimplified periodization—to see a racist and conservative period replacing the early alliance between abolitionism and women's rights. She fails, however, to note a third stage, beginning around the turn of the century, when the suffrage movement increasingly turned its attention to working-class and immigrant voters and adopted a more radical stance both in theory and in practice.

By 1900, concessions to racism and conservatism had certainly not ended, but there was clearly a new thrust to suffrage work. Suffrage leaders had begun to see what most recent historians have missed: Racist, nativist, and elitist "concessions" won nothing for the woman suffrage struggle. Woman suffrage was won *in spite of* such concessions.

The decisive factor in winning woman suffrage was not the movement's concessions to racism or conservatism but the massive education and action campaign led by women's organizations. These succeeded in mobilizing tens of thousands of women in direct action to win the vote. It was the cumulative impact of two decades of mass mobilizations that changed the consciousness of the American people on the question and forced the government onto the defensive, setting the stage for the victory of woman suffrage in 1920.

#### Turn to Mass Action

The emphasis on mass action increased markedly after 1900. The Boston Equal Suffrage Association, founded in 1901, began to experiment with new kinds of campaigning. Its members went door to door in ethnic and working-class neighborhoods and held outdoor soapbox rallies and street meetings.

In 1907 Harriot Stanton Blatch organized the Women's Political Union, an association of factory and professional women, and began to hold mass parades for woman suffrage.

The following account gives an idea of the impact of these mass actions. It is a description by Jesse Williams of a suffrage march that he watched from the window of a men's club on New York's Fifth Avenue (quoted in *Pioneers of Women's Liberation*, by Joyce Cowley [New York: Pathfinder Press, 1971]):

"It was Saturday afternoon and the members had crowded behind the windows to witness the show. They were laughing and exchanging the kind of jokes you would expect. When the head of the procession came opposite them, they burst into laughing and as the procession swept past, laughed long and loud. But the women continued to pour by. The laughter began to weaken, became spasmodic. The parade went on and on. Finally there was only the occasional sound of the clink of ice in the glasses. Hours passed. Then someone broke the silence. 'Well boys,' he said, 'I guess they mean it!'"

In 1913 Alice Paul and Lucy Burns established the Congressional Union. It played a key role in conceiving and spearheading the mass activity that brought the suffrage issue to the fore in this period. The CU began as part of the NAWSA, but soon broke with the parent organization over tactics.

The CU favored militant, dramatic actions and demonstrations, and wanted to make the amendment a national political issue. The NAWSA favored a lower-key, state-by-state approach. The Congressional Union later merged with Blatch's

WPU to form the Women's party (WP).

The CU oriented particularly toward working women, organizing public meetings and delegations of working women to Congress, and participating in labor demonstrations with suffrage banners and leaflets.

Though the Women's party had only 50,000 members, compared with the NAWSA's 2 million, and could not have won suffrage on its own, it did provide the impetus for the final push, and its politics deserve more serious examination than they have been given by historians. Where historians have taken note of the CU and the WP, they have emphasized their militant tactics, ignoring the political approach that underlay them.

#### The War and the Elections

This is evident in historians' treatment of two main issues that divided the women's movement in its final period—the questions of subordination of the movement to Democratic or Republican party politics, and of the attitude to be taken toward World War I.

The CU and its successor, the Women's party, took a position that the suffrage movement should not directly support any candidate, but should actively oppose candidates who refused to support suffrage or who belonged to a party in office that refused to implement woman suffrage.

**'By the turn of the century, many suffragists reconsidered their antilabor views in the light of facts demonstrating that working people represented a powerful ally of the women's movement.'**

Of course, such a "protest vote" in practice amounted to voting for the other of the two parties of big business, neither of which represented the interests of the masses of women or of working people. But the CU position reflected an attempt by women to find a way of keeping suffrage alive as a political issue during the election campaign.

The NAWSA's alternative—to support the individual campaign of anyone who voted for woman suffrage—proved itself to be a dead end. NAWSA members bartered away their potential to force the Democratic and Republican parties to endorse suffrage. Since the NAWSA bound itself to support any individuals who endorsed suffrage, the Democrats and Republicans could run prosuffrage candidates in strong suffrage districts and antisuffrage candidates everywhere else. Prosuffrage candidates felt no need to win their party to support of suffrage, since they knew they would get the suffrage vote anyway.

In the presidential election of 1916 the suffragists of the WP put the Democrats so much on the defensive that for the first time there was a major discussion of suffrage at the national convention and the Democrats felt compelled to put out as much literature on suffrage as they did claiming to be for peace.

On Wilson's inauguration day the WP organized a demonstration of 1,000.

By 1916 the Women's party had brought the federal suffrage amendment back to life and put so much pressure on the NAWSA that its convention adopted a plan that was unabashedly drawn from Alice Paul's national orientation. Known as Carrie Catt's "Winning Plan," this for the first time committed the NAWSA to a national campaign on the federal amendment.

A second area where historians have generally misinterpreted the effects of suffragists' actions is in relation to the war. The outbreak of World War I was greeted differently by the Women's party and the NAWSA. Although the NAWSA did not suspend its suffrage work entirely, it subordinated that work to the war effort. The WP, on the other hand, refused to subordinate its struggle to the war drive. It picketed the White House daily, and continued even after picketing was made illegal.

Alice Paul built a "watchfire" in an urn outside

the White House gates. Every time Wilson made a speech abroad that referred to freedom, Paul and her supporters burned a copy of the speech in the watchfire.

The NAWSA refused to support the demonstrations and even refused to go on record against the brutal treatment that Women's party members received in jail. Carrie Catt visited Wilson frequently and was so convinced that she was winning him over that she was able to justify spying on the WP for him—letting Wilson know in advance when they had made plans that might embarrass him.

Flexner calls the NAWSA's actions "realistic" and O'Neill goes so far as to claim that the "principal contribution [of the WP's pickets] was to seriously embarrass an administration that had already been won over to woman suffrage by the patient, skillful efforts of Carrie Chapman Catt and the NAWSA."

But there is no evidence that at the time of the WP demonstrations Wilson had any intention of implementing woman suffrage. His tentative wooing of the suffrage movement during his reelection campaign, for example, had come to an abrupt end with his victory. There is considerable evidence that he was highly embarrassed, especially in his international dealings, by the WP actions and that he very much wanted them stopped.

Certainly the WP could not have won woman suffrage on its own, but it did revitalize the movement and pull the NAWSA into the kind of mass action that tipped the scales and won the vote.

#### 'Realists' and 'Romantics'

Again and again, though, historians of the woman suffrage movement have denigrated the role of mass action in the final victory. Thus Gail Parker, in her introduction to Elizabeth Cady Stanton's autobiography, *Eighty Years and More*, says rather approvingly: "Mrs. Catt and her closest co-workers were realists, not romantic heroines; tacticians, not radical ideologues." They differed "from the pioneers at Seneca Falls . . . in the political tactfulness of their elitism" (New York: Schocken, 1971).

What Parker calls "romantic heroines" and "radical ideologues" play an important role in history, not as individuals but to the extent that they win the movement to mobilizing the only kind of force that can effectively confront the ruling-class monopoly of wealth and political power—mass agitation and action independent of the ruling class. That is what the radicals of the Congressional Union, the Women's party, and the other uncompromising activists and fighters for woman suffrage did, and without them, women like "General Catt"—as so many historians describe the NAWSA leader—would not even have had a cause, much less an army.

The only way to explain why woman suffrage won when and as it did is to throw out any idea that history is made by friendly persuasion, brilliant deals, reliance on individual politicians, or accommodation to threats of "backlash." Women won the vote first by forcing discussion of a demand that most people considered too "extreme" and then by organizing themselves as an independent force, whose demands—not appeals or concessions—were backed up by mass mobilizations.

The suffrage movement not only won concrete gains so that the present feminist movement can start from a higher stage, but it left us a set of lessons on how to organize in the future. It proved that women can organize in their own interests, gain mass support, and win victories even against the determined opposition of the capitalist power structure.

It indicates the futility of any strategy based on counterposing women's rights to the rights of Blacks and other working people, who are potentially powerful allies of the women's liberation struggle. Despite all the opportunist concessions and compromises that mar its history, woman suffrage was won only after women mobilized in direct, independent action around the principled demand of suffrage for all. This is a particularly important lesson in the present economic crisis, when the ruling class is once more stepping up its attempts to divide the working class along race and sex lines as one way of frustrating struggles for social justice.

*Continued from page 10*

I was elected to the board of aldermen in Bolton.

The old white-power structure knew that if they could remove me from office they could restore their control. So they decided to draft me.

I lost my teaching deferment when I was elected to office. I then filed for conscientious objector status.

My all-white draft board refused my claim, while whites in my area would get C.O. status almost automatically, and without even a hearing.

I was able to keep my office by going to court, but I was continually harassed by my draft board until the draft finally came to an end.

A young Black man from my neighboring town of Edwards is in Canada today because he refused to submit.

Black people comprised only 12.6 percent of armed forces personnel in Vietnam, but suffered 20 percent of combat fatalities. Even with the war over, Black men receive twice as many courts-martial as whites, and have twice as many bad discharges. Black veterans are hit the hardest by unemployment.

More than one hundred years ago men who fought to keep my people enslaved—including Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis—were amnestied. It will be the gravest injustice if President Ford and Congress continue Nixon's vindictive policies toward those who opposed the tragic Indochina war.

*Bennie G. Thompson  
Bolton, Mississippi*

#### Good suggestion

Two recent articles in the *Militant* stand out as excellent in revealing the nature of U.S. capitalism and its twin political parties.

These are Nancy Cole's "Congress covers up CIA crimes" (*Militant*, February 13) and Peter Camejo's "The Profit System: Root of America's Crisis" (*Militant*, February 6).

I urge you to make a pamphlet of the latter and you have an order for twenty copies from this supporter. I have at least twenty friends and relatives who would relate to this plain-sense-language description of what makes this society tick and what we can do about it.

*D.W.  
Bellingham, Washington*

#### Nixon's trip

I heard on the radio this morning that Nixon is being briefed in Peking on the current struggle there against "capitalist roaders."

If this is true, is it not a bizarre example of truth being stranger than fiction? If I was worried that China was about to backslide into capitalism, I wouldn't pick Nixon to take my troubles to.

Anyone in Peking who would select Nixon to be the bearer of clarifying messages to the American people is no revolutionary, no proletarian internationalist.

Why is it that when the Chinese leaders finally get around to explaining their internal politics to Americans they address themselves to the oppressors rather than to the oppressed?

*David Herreshoff  
Nelson, British Columbia*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

## National Picket Line

### Frank Lovell



## A little justice, long overdue

[Frank Lovell is recuperating from a heart attack. During his absence the National Picket Line will be written by guest columnists. This week's column is by José Pérez.]

For many years the Pullman Company, which manufactured and operated the famous sleeping and parlor cars for railroad travel, tried to present itself as a "benefactor of the Negro race." The company's generosity consisted of hiring Blacks to serve as porters and maids on its cars. For a long time, working for Pullman was one of the better jobs a Black could get.

Something of the Pullman Company's real record has come to public attention now, because in mid-February a federal judge ruled the firm guilty of discrimination against the porters. For about 100 years, Black men were segregated into that one narrow job category.

The ruling came a little late to help many porters—the company went out of business in 1969 as a result of changing transportation patterns. But the judge is scheduled to rule on a financial award to porters and ex-porters in the next few months.

After the ruling, a *New York Times* reporter interviewed a half-dozen porters, all but one retired, who had worked for the company for up to thirty-five years.

They explained that Pullman porters had certain routine duties: setting out clean linen; making available water bottles, soap, and cups; helping to receive passengers boarding the cars. They helped with the baggage, fetched drinks and food, and generally were responsible for the passengers, their needs and possessions.

Frequently the porters also had to serve as conductors, in which case they were called "porters-in-charge" and paid a little extra each month, but not nearly as much as conductors got. Some porters served in this capacity for years, but were never promoted to conductors. That was a white man's job.

Pullman hired porters only if they had something called an "unblemished" record and recommendations from "two or more white people."

The men interviewed by the *Times* complained that the company considered them "part of the equipment and not men."

Then there were all the insults and abuses associated with flagrant racism: Southern states where porters would not be allowed to enter the train station; towns where porters were forbidden to enter, even to buy food.

Bad as the conditions described by the men were, they were much, much worse before the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was organized.

When the union was founded in 1925, wages started at \$67 a month plus tips. Out of that, the porters had to spend an average of \$33 a month for uniforms, shoe polish for patrons, incidentals, and meals during runs. The union demanded abolition of tips and a starting wage of \$150.

Porters worked some 400 hours a month, and were paid less for overtime than straight time. The union demanded a 240-hour month, and specific time allowances for sleeping of not less than four hours a night.

For this the Brotherhood was denounced as "subversive," "socialistic," "communistic," and "red" by company mouthpieces.

With the aid of the massive labor upsurge of the 1930s, the union won a contract and conditions improved.

The Brotherhood also played a role disproportionate to its size in the overall struggle of Black people. A. Philip Randolph, leader of the union, initiated the 1941 March on Washington Movement, which won some concessions against discrimination in defense plants and government employment.

And the initiator and central organizer of the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, E.D. Nixon, was president of a Brotherhood local. The union nationally was one of a handful that backed the Montgomery movement.

All that's left of the Pullman Company today is a couple of employees, a lawyer, and \$8 million in a bank. Even if it's a little late, the porters are entitled to that money as partial recompense for the years of discrimination and abuse they suffered under the Pullman Company.

## Women in Revolt

### Cindy Jaquith



## International Women's Day

International Women's Day is being celebrated around the world on March 8 with speak-outs, teach-ins, demonstrations, and other protests against the oppression of women. Here in the United States, many actions are focusing on the demand for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Women are also speaking out in defense of our right to abortion and on other issues.

Through the resurgence of feminism in the 1960s, we have restored March 8 as part of women's rightful heritage in this country. For decades, however, International Women's Day had been ignored in the United States, despite the fact that this holiday has its roots in the struggles of American working women.

On March 8, 1908, women garment workers in New York City took to the streets. They marched through the Lower East Side demanding the right to vote and an end to intolerable working conditions.

Working women, often led by the Socialist party, played an important role in the suffrage movement in this country. In honor of the suffrage battles in the United States, the International Socialist Women's Congress, meeting in Copenhagen in 1910, declared March 8 International Women's Day.

March 8, 1911, saw a tremendous outpouring of women in Europe in support of suffrage. Alexandra Kollontai, the Russian revolutionary leader, described it in her pamphlet *International Women's Day*:

"Germany and Austria . . . were one seething trembling sea of women. Meetings were organized everywhere—in the small towns and even in the villages. Halls were packed so full that they had to ask workers to give up their places to the women."

"This was certainly the first show of militancy by the working women. Men stayed at home with the

children for a change, and their wives, the captive housewives, went to meetings."

Such celebrations risked fierce repression in tsarist Russia. Nevertheless, the Bolshevik party organized a "Morning Teach-in on the Woman Question" on March 8, 1913, in Petrograd. Nearly all the party speakers were arrested at the end of the rally.

In 1914, March 8 demonstrations in Germany protested World War I and the arrest of socialist leader Rosa Luxemburg.

Then in 1917, the March 8 celebration that was to transform world history occurred. Russian women textile workers in Petrograd marked International Women's Day (February 23 by the Russian calendar) by going on strike, demanding bread and an end to the war. Their strike spread throughout the city, and soon Petrograd was engulfed in a workers' upsurge, which we now know as the February revolution.

The Russian revolution snapped the economic chains that bound women. When the Bolsheviks came to power, they legalized abortion, built child-care centers, eased divorce laws, and repealed anti-homosexual statutes.

The great strides forward in the emancipation of Russian women were betrayed when the counterrevolutionary regime of Joseph Stalin consolidated its grip.

The Russian revolution, nevertheless, marked a historic advance for women, illustrating that the struggle for female liberation is inextricably intertwined with the fight to end all forms of oppression under capitalism.

It takes a socialist revolution to win this fight—a revolution in which women and the other oppressed and exploited masses seize control of their destinies and forge a new society based on human needs.



**One of the boys**—"In very substantial ways the president has made clear his dedication to equality for women. Whether once every few months, or in warm weather more often, he has an afternoon of golf with the boys does not detract from his position on equality."—Ron Nessen explaining Ford's membership in a male-only golf club.

**Un-Albanian**—The Albanian government has ordered citizens to change their names if the name does not meet "political, ideological, and moral standards" of the country. Offenders have until the end of 1976 to correct the abuse. Recalcitrants will have new names assigned by the local party organization.



**There's a difference?**—The president's TV adviser told a gathering of media executives that the administration favors Congress permitting cigarette commercials to return to the air. "We're advocating free enterprise and freedom of choice, not cancer or cigarettes," he told the audience to loud applause.

**A real curb**—The president would like to see repeal of the federal equal-time ruling for candidates because it kept him from such key activities as presenting a TV award to Irving Berlin and appearing on the Rose Bowl program in a bicentennial spot.

**Now hear this**—"Trying to increase rents to cover higher expenses without excessively antagonizing the

tenants is an art that all property managers will practice in 1976. Probably the best way to accomplish this is the education of the tenants as to why the rent increases are necessary. It is important to dispel the notion that the landlord is pocketing the increases."—Chicago Real Estate Board newsletter.

**They got bigger bellies, too**—A California labor department official rejected sex discrimination charges by a group of San Jose female department store "Easter bunnies" who walked off the job because they were getting \$2.10 an hour while male Santas had drawn \$3.00 an hour. The state ruled Santa "worked harder," had to talk to more children, and sold twice as many snapshots with kiddies on his lap.

## By Any Means Necessary

### Stiff racket in a white world

Hmmm. Let's see now. Divide these polynomial functions by the calculations from a . . . oh, wait, this would have to be based on a duodecimal system using figures from a logarithmic chart . . . then determining p for probability from a permutations table . . . aw, phooey, that still leaves a couple of variables.

There's gotta be a shortcut somewhere. A formula for other Blacks for getting past the obstacles put in the way of tennis star Arthur Ashe's long struggle to the top.

In 1975 Ashe bagged the WCT (World Championship of Tennis) title, was a finalist in the Master circuit, and copped the Wimbledon crown by bamboozling the Brash Basher from Belleville, Illinois (Jimmy Connors). And now the new rankings are out and he's number one in the world. Wow.

"When I looked at the 1974 rankings a year ago, I blinked," said Ashe, who at thirty-two looks more like he belongs in the Vienna Boys Choir singing high contralto than on a tennis court miniaturizing giants.

"It stung me, it really did. I was number nine in the world and number five in the United States. I couldn't accept the fact that there were guys ranked

ahead of me I knew I could beat. So I trained a little harder, concentrated a little more and then, when I started winning, I just started to play with a lot more confidence."

He makes it sound easy. But Ashe can easily recall the discrimination and other problems he and other Blacks have experienced trying to make it to the top.

Today tennis is the fastest-growing spectator and player sport in the country. Thirty-three million people are now learning the difference between a backhand and a forehand, a left sneaker and a right sneaker. But as for Black representation in the ranks of the pros, after Ashe that's it. No other major sport is still like that.

The explanation lies in the birth of the sport in the late 1800s on the manicured lawns of exclusive white country clubs, physically and socially miles away from Blacks and the city ghettos. Over the years the game has come down to the public parks level, but much of the snobbish tradition and discrimination still remains in the echelons of tournament play.

The United States Tennis Association is the governing body for the sport. But because of that body's biased practices, a generation ago Blacks

### Baxter Smith



established the American Tennis Association to give young Black players an opportunity for tournament competition.

The ATA has produced many fine Black players, including Althea Gibson and Jimmy McDaniel (who, until his retirement in 1946, was good enough to take sets off the young tennis don, Pancho Gonzalez).

But it will be many years before significant numbers of Ashe, Gibsons, and McDaniels come along. Tennis is a sport that requires a whale of wampum and long hours of practice, from an early age, to become a champion. And still there is the bias.

"In Miami, on the tour," the once-promising Bonnie Logan said of an experience at a tournament not too long ago, "two other Black players and I couldn't stay with the host family—they said they didn't want any Blacks. So they put us up in a hotel. It was a real tough hassle all the time. A lot of the people had never seen Black players before, and I never played without a big crowd around. If I get on court against a white girl, automatically the heads turn."

Experiences like that, she said, made her give up the sport altogether.

## The American Way of Life

### The great health-care robbery

The growing deterioration of medical care in this country is illustrated by the situation facing residents of Southern California.

For the past several years medical fees have been rising at a rate double that of the general cost of living. Now the situation is going to get worse.

According to Harry Nelson, medical writer for the *Los Angeles Times*, health insurance rates will be going up 20 percent and more in the next several months.

In a February 23 article, Nelson reported that the principal justification for this huge jump is the rise in medical malpractice insurance rates.

Some 9,500 Southern California doctors recently staged an apparently unsuccessful thirty-five-day slowdown to block a further malpractice rate increase and are now simply passing on the added cost to the patient.

And the passing on of the increase, past practice indicates, will be on a "cost-plus" basis. The patient will pay the doctor's increased malpractice premium plus a little something for the good doctor.

The new, stiffer fees will obtain in all aspects of

medical care. Hospital fees will rise again, along with the cost of a visit to the doctor's office.

A significant component in the soaring costs is what is known in the trade as "defensive medicine."

One Blue Shield official estimated that a solid 40 percent of the X rays and other diagnostic procedures ordered by doctors are not for the medical needs of the patient but for the legal protection of the doctor.

The sharpest increase—again not surprisingly—will be in the already superlucrative fees charged by surgeons.

This is what surgeons' fees will look like this bicentennial year:

- The average cost of a 1975 appendectomy was a whopping \$522. In 1976 it will run between \$626 and \$652.
- It now costs about \$230 to have a pair of tonsils removed. It will be going up to as high as \$287.
- A gall bladder operation—currently about \$798—will jump to \$897.

These and other cost hikes will mean stiff new premium increases for subscribers to Blue Cross,

Blue Shield, and other insurance plans. Blue Cross, always sympathetic to doctors' needs, anticipates its premiums will be going up 28 percent. Other companies will reportedly jack their rates even higher.

For doctors, hospital administrators, and health insurance brokers, it all adds up to even juicier profits.

For those in need of medical care, it will mean that every ailment will be an even bigger financial drain. And inevitably it will mean that the quality of medical care will continue to drop in proportion to the spiraling costs.

The situation in Southern California is, of course, not unique. There will be similar increases in medical costs—and profits—nationally. What is already a full-scale crisis of medical care will only deepen.

It underlines the insanity of a social system that permits the availability of so elementary a right as medical care to be determined by private profiteering.

—Stanley Maxman

[The following was written by a flight attendant for a major airline. She wishes to remain anonymous to avoid harassment from her employer.]

As a flight attendant, I would like to respond to an article in the February 9 *New York Times* entitled "Activist Hostesses Nettle Airlines With Demands."

This article, like most media portrayals of flight attendants, makes sure that the average person/passenger will see us as unreasonable, spoiled brats who have a cake job and no legitimate reason to complain. It is a slap in the face to the women who have chosen this line of work and are trying to improve our standard of living, change the public's view of us, and have the health and safety hazards of our jobs investigated and eliminated.

Advertising is our biggest single enemy. People are duped into believing that they will get constant personal attention, gourmet dinners, and fine wines.

Depending on how thoroughly convinced they are, they may think they get us with their ticket as well, as a personal servant.

Ads such as National's "Fly me" and Continental's "We'll really move our tails for you" present us in a totally unprofessional and pornographic light. Men are led to believe they will get *more* than just the service we are trained to provide. They expect a harem of smiling, dancing "girls" who are there to cater to their smallest wish.

Little do they know that these same "girls" can save their lives in an emergency.

#### Safety regulations

We are professionals, and the sexist media image of us seriously harms our ability to enforce legitimate safety regulations—even something as simple as having a person fasten their seat belt.

We often encounter outright hostility to any request to adhere to federal safety regulations—until a male flight attendant steps in. Then the command is obeyed.

Little things like this can dangerously delay evacuation of an aircraft in an emergency. It has happened many times. Female flight attendants have actually been knocked down and pushed out the aircraft door before they could inflate the evacuation slide so other passengers could slide out to safety.

In a burning aircraft, with ninety seconds at most to evacuate the passengers, such lack of respect for our knowledge and training could prove fatal.

Many passengers go into "negative panic," sitting in their seats until dragged out by a flight attendant, who may have risked her life to go back into a burning plane and bring them to safety.

Contrary to our image, we are capable, responsible professional women (and men), who are trained to handle any situation—from a full load with a shortage of flight attendants, to bomb threats, crashes, aiding a heart attack victim with mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, or delivering a baby.

Our working conditions are much worse than the *Times* article indicates. Our health and personal dignity are sacrificed in the airlines' competition to reap the biggest possible profits.

I am now under treatment by a podiatrist and must have special shoes made. Why? Because my arches have fallen from years of being forced to wear dainty, pump-style shoes considered regulation by the company.

Although I am in constant pain from my feet now, until I have a formal letter from my doctor I still cannot wear shoes that tie for support or low-heeled shoes. A one-and-a-half-inch heel is the specified minimum for women. Men have different rules. They can wear laced, low, comfortable shoes.

# Why flight attendants are fighting back



Sick leave for flight attendants is considered a privilege that shouldn't be used unless one is seriously ill. We are automatically assumed to be guilty of "abuse of sick leave" and are hounded by the company to prove our illness.

If we become sick on a layover station, we either fly or end up stuck in a strange city and hotel—where we foot all the bills.

Because of all this hassle, flight attendants often fly even when they are ill. In my case, this has led to permanent hearing damage. Flying at high altitudes affects the eustachian tubes and inner ears. On descent, there is danger of the eardrum bursting. This happens to flight attendants regularly.

My eardrums never burst, but I have permanent hearing loss as a result of flying with colds over the years for fear of harassment.

#### Grooming checks

To keep up the image the companies want, we are subject to regular "grooming checks" by supervisors. We are required to shave our legs and underarms. Even if we are wearing uniform trousers, the supervisor can demand that we raise our pants for a check on whether our legs are clean-shaven. Same with underarms.

Bras are mandatory, and inspections are sometimes forced on a flight attendant if the supervisor suspects she isn't wearing one. I have had male supervisors run their hand up and down my back to check on this.

It wasn't so long ago that girdles were mandatory too. Then there were girdle checks as well.

Supervisors also harass flight attendants if our lipstick (also mandatory) isn't dark enough to suit them. Flight attendants can and have been removed from flight duty for refusing to wear the required lipstick.

The airlines feel flight attendants are incapable of dealing with our in-flight duties without constant supervision. In-flight supervisors have the power to fire a flight attendant on board the aircraft for "insubordination" or just "bad attitude."

Some supervisors actually sneak around the galley (kitchen) area to "catch" us having a cigarette during the meal service, talking to each other about the company's rotten policies, or eating a meal if we're not entitled to one on that trip (that's considered stealing the company's food).

#### Sexual abuse

Particularly obnoxious are the physical attacks, including sexual assaults, from passengers—often due to the great expectations of the service, and the huge quantities of alcohol that are served.

Not all women can cope with the abuse, and one major airline has so many flight attendants in need of professional help that they have their own company psychiatrist. Other women spend their own money on therapy, trying to learn to handle their frustrations.

Let me give just one example out of dozens I've had to put up with over the years.

Once I was sitting in the galley on a night flight, chatting with a male passenger who had been drinking. He suddenly reached over and grabbed me. I, of course, hit him. I reported the incident to the captain, but nothing came of it.

Other women have been kicked, slapped, hit, and had things thrown at them. If we complain, we are told that we knew what the job was when we took it, and should leave if we can't cope.

When I was younger I was unaware of the possibility of suing these men for "interfering with a flight attendant"—a federal violation punishable by up to twenty years in prison.

Today, after so many incidents, I and other flight attendants have become more militant. I would sue today, even though the airlines strongly oppose it as "bad publicity."

#### 'Financially troubled' airlines?

There are good aspects of the job, of course, but the airlines are trying to wipe these out. Gains we worked hard for over the years are being wheedled away with each new contract.

The *Times* article faults us for causing "serious new problems" for the "financially troubled" airlines. It cites flight attendants at American Airlines who rejected "a contract similar to one accepted smoothly by five other unions."

But "similar" can cover a big range of differences: getting separate rooms on layover, but getting no cost-of-living raise; giving up dental coverage for a small increase in pay; being asked to work through one's vacation to help the company's profits; and so on.

In most airlines, flight attendant's pay increases stop after eight to ten years of service. The reason, of course, is to discourage us from continuing to fly so that the company can hire new, younger "clouds of fluff," who start at a low base rate of pay. (The \$8,000 starting pay quoted by the *Times* is deceiving. Base rates vary from airline to airline and most are not that high.)

But flight attendants are staying—and fighting—out of economic necessity. We have to support ourselves and our families. A new militancy is arising from this simple economic fact.

We are fighting for change, and we believe we can win.

## New cop, FBI links disclosed

# Right-wing terror in San Diego: the plot thickens

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—The San Diego City Council has announced that on March 10 it will begin hearings into FBI-sponsored violations of civil rights.

The decision comes in the wake of increasing publicity focused on a terror campaign conducted against San Diego radicals by the ultraright Secret Army Organization, which was actively supported by the FBI.

For several years, beginning in the late 1960s, the SAO carried out a campaign of harassment, including bombings and shootings, against anti-war activists and others in the San Diego area.

The council's inquiry will focus on links between FBI political spying and the San Diego police and other city personnel. It will examine the use of intelligence gathered by informers and the deployment of infiltrators into political organizations.

A council resolution outlining the study expressed particular concern with "the use of city personnel as paid informants encouraged to actively engage in illegal activity resulting in violation of the civil rights of several citizens."

Howard Godfrey, an FBI informer and provocateur in the SAO, was a San Diego fire fighter during the group's reign of terror.

The FBI's relationship with the SAO began to make news after Peter Bohmer and Paula Tharp, two victims of the violence, filed a \$10.6 million suit against the FBI and others.

In an interview published in the *Los Angeles Times*, Howard Godfrey revealed some new facts and confirmed others concerning the FBI's role.

Several pieces of information stood out:

- Godfrey participated in burglaries

of radical political groups, such as the Communist party and the Peace and Freedom party, in which lists of members and supporters were stolen. These lists were turned over to the FBI, which was fully aware of how they had been obtained.

- After a burglary of the Student Mobilization Committee, an antiwar group, Godfrey and his accomplices called parents of students on the list "and told them what their children were doing," Godfrey said.

Names of parents who defended their children were put into the SAO file.

- Godfrey and the Minutemen, another ultraright group, planned to hang radical professor Herbert Marcuse and Communist party member Angela Davis. The plan was scrapped in favor of an effigy hanging. Participating with Godfrey in the plotting was Lou Conde, now a member of the San Diego County Board of Supervisors.

- Godfrey and the SAO carried out a campaign of harassment against Maureen O'Connor, a San Diego City Council member. A car similar to that of O'Connor's roommate was firebombed.

O'Connor and her sister were singled out because of their connection with the "unconventional center," set up by a San Diego bank to avert violence at the Republican convention in 1972, then slated to be held in San Diego. The SAO, which was itself planning violence against protesters, wanted the cops to crack down on radicals.

- Godfrey, with the full knowledge of the FBI, organized and led a terror campaign against two San Diego underground papers. The rightists vandalized offices, smashed presses, and stole 5,000 copies of one issue and dumped them in the harbor.

No one was ever prosecuted for any of these crimes.

Paula Tharp, who was a staff member of one of the papers, told the national newsmagazine *New Times* recently that an FBI agent watched a car get firebombed in front of the paper's offices.

Some of the other revelations in the *New Times* article were:

- Godfrey was reportedly directed to the FBI in 1967 by Judge Clifford Wallace after arrest on a firearms charge. When Godfrey agreed to become an informer, charges against him were dropped.

- The FBI was fully informed of all Godfrey's activities. He reported "almost daily" to the FBI for five years, and the Washington offices of the FBI followed the trials of SAO members closely.

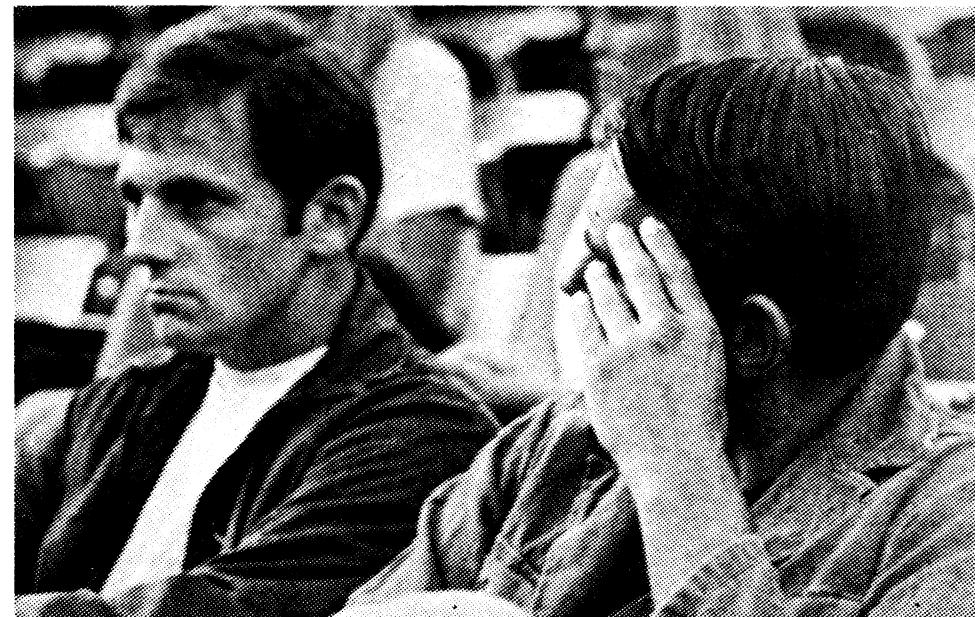
*New Times* also confirmed that

Donald Segretti, White House dirty trickster, had been in San Diego to recruit informers and provocateurs prior to the 1972 Republican convention as part of the allegedly rejected Liddy plan.

The plan, proposed by White House "plumber" G. Gordon Liddy, called for organizing violence against radical protesters at the convention and may have included murder plots.

The *New Times* article confirmed that the SAO was a creature of FBI plotting and could not have existed without FBI financing. Jerry Lynn Davis, former California head of the Minutemen (which was linked with the SAO) told *New Times* that Godfrey supplied 75 percent of the SAO's operating expenses, and all that money came from the FBI.

And the FBI's goal? "The FBI used us to do things they couldn't do," Davis said.



Howard Godfrey (right) and another member of terrorist Secret Army Organization spying on student rally in 1970.

## N.Y. labor tops draw ire for refusing to fight cuts

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—Several prominent trade-union officials here drew an angry and hostile reception from a February 25 union rally protesting projected massive cuts in the City University of New York.

The latest threatened cut is a proposal to shut down campuses for four weeks. During that time CUNY employees would receive no pay.

The rally, held in the Marc Ballroom,



Recent anticutbacks action. Now teachers face forced one-month payless furlough.

was organized by the Professional Staff Congress, the union representing CUNY teaching staff.

The meeting was projected as a time when the PSC membership would "promulgate a program of action." However, as the rally proceeded, the audience became increasingly frustrated by the lack of any concrete proposals for action from any of the speakers.

As one member of the audience put it, "This is like being at a pep rally where the speakers have no idea how to win, or where the game is, or even what the game is."

Typical of the presentations was a speech by Michael Mann, director of Region 7, AFL-CIO. Mann pledged the support of the AFL-CIO in the fight against the payless four-week furlough and any cuts in CUNY that would threaten free college education in New York.

"We will not sit back idly and let this happen," Mann said. "The American trade-union movement wasn't built by sitting on the sidelines while injustices were perpetrated."

The audience was skeptical. Since the beginning of the New York City crisis, AFL-CIO policy has been to "sit back idly" while massive "injustices were perpetrated" on large sections of its own membership.

The speakers who drew the most anger from the audience were Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers.

Loud boos and shouts of "sellout" greeted Gotbaum when he got up to

speak. Gotbaum played a leading role in the negotiations between the city and the Municipal Labor Council that resulted in a wage freeze and massive layoffs for all city unions.

The chairperson introduced Shanker as a "big man, big in physical stature and big in the labor movement."

"And big in racism," added a voice from the audience. In 1968 Shanker led a racist strike against the right of Black and other oppressed nationalities to control their schools.

Recently, Shanker has been a staunch defender of applying strict seniority during the layoffs. Under this procedure Black and Latino teachers have seen the disappearance of the modest gains they have won in recent years in overcoming decades of racist discrimination in hiring.

Shanker's remarks were a departure from his previous statements about the New York crisis, which he has pictured as a sort of natural calamity that mere human beings cannot control.

He has tried to keep up the pretense that the crisis would be over in three years. After that time everything teachers have lost would suddenly "pop back."

This speech was more realistic. "They intend to attack free higher education and other social services not only in New York but throughout the country," Shanker told the rally. "New York City is about to become a new type of social experiment in how much can be taken away how fast without creating unacceptable social unrest."

Shanker's program for fighting the cuts, however, remains the same. He called for "equality of sacrifice" and a lobbying campaign directed at Demo-

cratic and Republican politicians with the aim of getting the federal government to take over health and welfare costs.

The obvious inadequacies of these proposals brought the most heated response from the audience.

A young professor rose to his feet and protested that in three months many of those present would be without a job.

When Shanker tried to ignore his remarks, the man continued, "You have gotten so you don't care what happens as long as you're collecting your salary."

Shanker quickly finished. The rally was supposed to be over. But rather than leave, members of the audience stayed another forty-five minutes. Lining up at the microphone, they criticized the union officials' failure to present a plan of action and made some proposals of their own.

One idea that everybody seemed to agree on was to have a mass action in Albany, the state capital, on March 16. On that date the PSC leadership is planning a big lobbying drive aimed at getting more money for education. The proposal from the audience was that the PSC should work to bring a lot of people to Albany and have a mass protest against the cuts.

A Queens College PSC member told about plans to hold special classes and teach-ins during the week of March 22, the first week of the proposed CUNY shutdown. Queens College students and staff plan to use the time to discuss strategy for fighting back against the cuts. PSC members from other schools said they were planning similar actions.

## Blacks, unions join in protest

# 5,000 rally in Phila. to save city hospital

By Dick Osborne

PHILADELPHIA—Chanting "Save PGH!" and "Recall Rizzo," more than 5,000 people rallied at city hall here on February 25 to protest the planned closing of Philadelphia General Hospital by the city administration.

The decision to close the city's only municipally funded hospital is part of a postelection austerity drive. Its aim is to make the working people of this city pay for a growing budget deficit through increased taxes and cutbacks in social services.

Plans to close the hospital have met with an angry response because of the devastating effect the closing would have on health care for the Black community.

PGH handles more than 250,000 outpatients a year. It is also the only hospital in the city that treats rape victims and tuberculosis cases and provides extensive facilities for the treatment of paraplegics.

The rally was preceded by a march of 3,000 from the hospital led by George Williams, a permanently disabled patient in a wheelchair. Parodying Mayor Frank Rizzo's recent election slogan, "Rizzo cares for you," Williams carried a placard reading, "Rizzo cares for who?"

Williams is one of the many disabled and indigent patients who would be put out on the street if PGH were to close.



Militant/Jon Flanders

February 25 march against planned closing of Philadelphia General Hospital. Mayor Frank Rizzo ordered closing after having been elected with unions' support.

Most of those who attended the march and rally were Black trade unionists. They view the closing of the hospital as the beginning of an offensive against city workers and an attack on the Black community itself.

The action was backed by District Councils 33 and 47 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and by District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. Other spon-

sors included the NAACP, PUSH, and the Urban League.

Earlier in the week, an emergency meeting of District Council 33's delegate assembly voted overwhelmingly to declare February 25 a "holiday" for its members and encourage their participation in the protest. Despite the short notice, some city work sites were shut down completely, particularly in the sanitation department.

The large participation of DC 33 unionists in what turned out to be a bitter anti-Rizzo rally was especially significant. DC 33 President Earl Stout was instrumental in turning out his membership to help reelect Rizzo last November.

AFSCME Local 488 President Arnold Johnson referred to the union's backing of Rizzo in his speech to the rally, saying, "We admit Local 488 supported that hypocrite in there. But we were wrong and now we're here to testify to his brutality in closing PGH."

Also speaking at the rally were Lucien Blackwell, a Black city council member; Charles Bowser, who ran against Rizzo for mayor; a representative of the NAACP; and Bill Brown of Local 488.

Referring to AFSCME's support of Rizzo in the election, Brown told the crowd, "Like I said, if you lie down with a dog in November, you wake up with fleas in February."

## L.A. hearings expose polluting by Standard Oil

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—Standard Oil storage tanks here have been allowed to leak 3,000 tons of hydrocarbons a year into the air, the California Air Resources Board discovered in public hearings here February 21.

Hydrocarbons, which are converted by ultraviolet rays in sunlight into photochemical smog, are the pollutants responsible for the poisonous brown pall that hangs over this city nearly all the time.

The 3,000 tons is the equivalent of the exhaust emissions of 378,000 automobiles, one official estimated.

State inspectors found leaks in nearly all of the tanks they tested in the Standard complex here. The Air Resources Board is now undertaking an investigation of other oil companies' facilities in the Los Angeles area for similar leaks.

Tom Quinn, chairman of the board, charged that the lax inspection procedures of the Southern California Air Pollution Control District and its predecessor, the Los Angeles APCD, were responsible for the leaks. Quinn

charged that "the district has let these things go on for years and done nothing."

A spokesperson for Quinn's agency told the *Militant* that one APCD

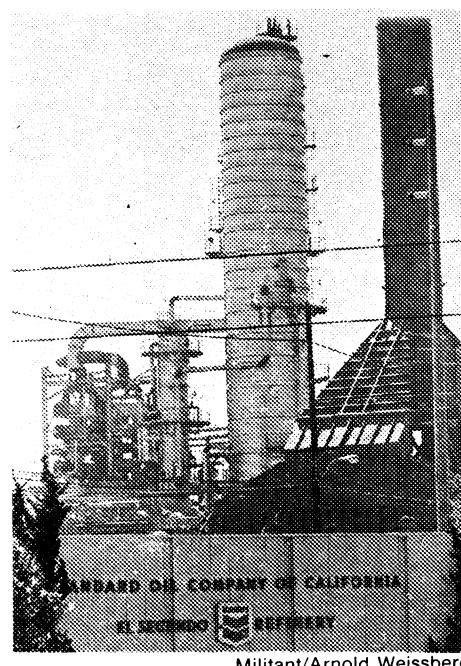
inspector had been told to ignore the leaks after he reported them.

Since its inception in 1955, the APCD has not issued a single written notice of violation for hydrocarbon emissions.

The public hearing clearly established that emission control presents no big technical problem. At similar Standard Oil tanks in San Diego there are virtually no leaks. A Standard official from San Diego explained that the reason for this was because the San Diego inspectors were "very aggressive and effective."

The Air Pollution Control Districts are the direct responsibility of the county governments. The Los Angeles APCD had been administered by the powerful five-member county board of supervisors until last July, when it was incorporated into the four-county Southern California APCD. The new body is administered by five supervisors from four counties, including two from Los Angeles.

It came as no surprise, then, when the supervisors strongly attacked the state findings at their February 24



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

meeting. Supervisor Kenneth Hahn said he thought the hearings might be "some kind of political gimmick or a publicity gimmick."

However, after the supervisors finished questioning local APCD officials, Hahn conceded that "there has been a laxity of strong enforcement." So great was the supervisors' change of attitude that they concluded by calling for a grand jury investigation of the tank leaks and of APCD enforcement procedures.

It is ironic that the supervisors are now calling for an investigation into the enforcement procedures for which they themselves are responsible. Handwringing declarations don't cover up the fact that it was the supervisors who allowed Standard to continue spilling filth into the air.

An APCD spokesperson told the *Militant* that the agency was hampered by lack of personnel. However, a state official countered that many of the gaps in the storage tanks could be easily spotted and photographed. He said the county inspectors just didn't bother to look very hard for violations.

## Demand strong desegregation plan in Dallas

By Jim White

DALLAS—Close to 100 people at a recent meeting heard community leaders call for a strong desegregation plan here. The February 24 gathering was sponsored by the Dallas Metropolitan NAACP, Student Coalition Against Racism, United Parents for Quality Education, and other groups.

Federal District Judge William Taylor is expected to rule on a desegregation plan within several weeks.

Seven plans are under consideration by the court, ranging from one put forward by the NAACP calling for the immediate busing of nearly 56,000 students, to the plan of racist leader and city council member Rose Renfroe calling for the establishment of two

inner-city "magnet" schools and no busing for desegregation.

Speakers at the meeting included Rev. H. Rhett James, director of the Dallas Metropolitan NAACP; Daniel Georges, assistant professor of urban affairs at the University of Texas at Arlington; and Yolanda Guerra, a leading Chicano activist here. John Mayes of the Student Coalition Against Racism chaired the meeting.

Reverend James blasted the hypocrisy of antibusing advocates. "Busing is as American as apple pie," James said. "We've had busing ever since the 1930s when they closed the one-room schoolhouses and established school districts.

"When they say they're against

forced busing, they don't say they're against other things being done by force. They don't say anything about forced taxes, or forced stop signs, or forced anything else. . . . When they say they're against forced busing, they mean they're against integration."

Georges focused fire on a recent plan submitted to the court by the Dallas Alliance, an organization of local businessmen and their representatives. The alliance has been on a campaign to pressure Judge Taylor, who has personal friends in the organization, to accept their plan.

Georges reported that the Dallas Alliance plan would bus only 6,000 to 8,000 students in the fourth through eighth grades. No high school students

would be bused. Since housing is segregated here, this plan would maintain segregated schooling for the majority of students.

It is reported that Judge Taylor is considering the alliance plan as an acceptable compromise. "The thing you have to look at," said Georges, "is who is doing the compromising. Under this plan it is we who do the compromising."

Both Georges and John Mayes pointed to the need for the community and its allies to organize for action.

"The racists are very well organized downtown," Georges said. "We have to form and activate organizations that can answer the challenge to the Black and Chicano communities."

# CP slate: backhanded support for 'lesser evil'

By Fred Feldman

The day after Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner announced their candidacies for president and vice-president on the Communist party ticket, the CP's *Daily World* carried the headline, "Hall-Tyner CP Ticket Takes On Boss Parties."

It may have seemed to observers unacquainted with Stalinist double-talk that this campaign was really independent of the capitalist parties.

Such a campaign would mean a break with the forty-year Stalinist tradition of trying to line up workers' votes behind the candidates of the capitalist class. No such break is in the offing.

The Stalinists' electoral policy reflects the diplomatic needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Kremlin leaders seek "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist rulers of the United States. They try to sweeten the pot in their diplomatic bargaining by instructing Communist parties to support capitalist governments and politicians that favor a friendly diplomatic stance toward the Soviet leaders. In the United States, this has usually meant support for the Democratic party candidates.

In 1964, the CP ardently backed Lyndon B. Johnson against Republican Barry Goldwater. In a pamphlet entitled *The Eleventh Hour—Defeat the New Fascist Threat!*, Gus Hall charged with "a political crime" anyone who hesitated to vote for "peace" candidate LBJ.

The November 8, 1964, issue of the *Worker* (predecessor to the *Daily World*) hailed Johnson's victory as a "far-reaching mandate for peace, equality and economic security." Yet Johnson had already used the trumped-up Tonkin Gulf incident as an excuse to savagely bomb North Vietnam and was preparing new bombings and an invasion of South Vietnam.

By 1968, the CP feared to appear before thousands of antiwar and anti-racist youth as a supporter of the Democratic party. Instead, it ran a token campaign of its own, while sending its members to work for Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy in the primaries. As election day drew near, the CP press tilted toward Hubert Humphrey as the "lesser evil."

In 1972 the CP fielded Hall and Tyner. To the confusion of observers, the candidates campaigned for the Democratic nominee, George McGovern. The September 23, 1972, *Daily World* quoted Hall as boasting that "we actually won more votes for McGovern than Shriver did."

Hall and Tyner's enthusiasm for McGovern cooled, of course, when, in the aftermath of Nixon's trip to Moscow, it became evident that Brezhnev thought Nixon was the one.

People who think that people who call themselves communists should say what they mean and mean what they say may find the Stalinists' two-faced "independent" campaigns hard to fathom.

This tactic was first used by the Stalinists in 1936 under Earl Browder's leadership. Here's how he explained it in his contribution to Rita Jane Simon's anthology *As We Saw the Thirties*:

"... I headed a delegation to Moscow to consult with the Comintern about the elections. Upon arriving we were informed ... that the Comintern leaders were all firmly of the opinion that the American Communist Party should endorse Roosevelt's candidacy and put up no candidate of their own. . . .

"[I] advanced my final argument that if we really wished to assure Roosevelt's reelection we would not endorse him because that would cause him to be labeled the 'Communist candidate'. . . . On the other hand we could put up our own candidate but conduct such a campaign that would assure Roosevelt of all votes under our influence except the diehard opponents of all 'capitalist' candidates who without a Communist candidate would switch to Norman Thomas or even the Socialist Labor Party. . . .

"Thus I became the logical Communist presidential candidate and made my ambiguous campaign in favor of my 'rival' Roosevelt."

The phony Browder campaign of 1936 sought to persuade radical workers to back Roosevelt. This devious tactic fell into disuse until the sixties brought a new wave of militants onto the political scene who were deeply suspicious of the capitalist parties. Then Browder's "ambiguous" electoral gimmick was resurrected.

The CP's 1976 campaign will "take on the boss parties" in the same way its 1968 and 1972 campaigns did—by supporting one. In case there was any confusion about this in the CP ranks, Tyner sought to clear it up in a speech reported in the February 17 *Daily World*.

Tyner called for "the unity of working people" against "the right-wing offensive of the Reagans and Wallaces in the 1976 elections." The only example of such unity he cited was "the alliance of the Black community and organized labor in the election of [Democrat] Coleman Young as mayor of Detroit."

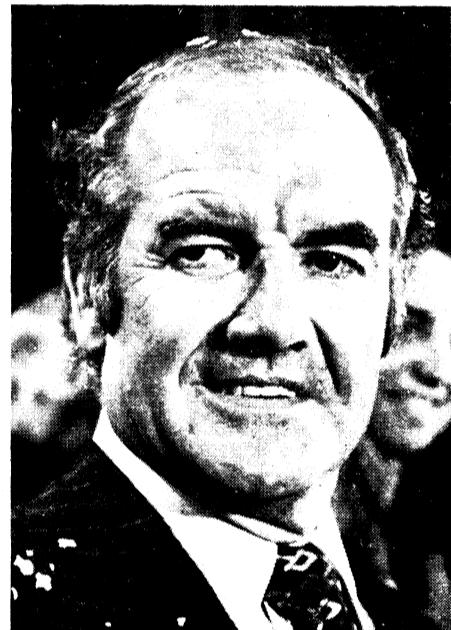
The kind of unity Tyner wants is with the boss parties and not against them.

The Stalinist standard-bearers are readying themselves to support a "lesser evil" capitalist-party candidate, even while they denounce those parties.

Thus Tyner informed readers of the February 19 *Daily World* that, while none of the capitalist candidates are antiracist, "there are a few who are 'non-racist.'"

The meaning of this extremely subtle distinction was not explained.

The Hall-Tyner campaign seeks to attract working people who are disgusted with the Republicans and Democrats, only in order to deflect them back into capitalist politics. The only candidates in the field who are committed to opposing the employers and their politicians to the finish are Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the candidates of the Socialist Workers party.



Past capitalist candidates favored by American Stalinists have included Franklin Roosevelt, George McGovern, and Lyndon Johnson.

## Schorr's crime: letting public read CIA report

[The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.]

"In October, 1974, I was assigned to start investigating intelligence agencies," CBS television correspondent Daniel Schorr said last month. "In February, 1976, they seem to be back investigating me."

Schorr is under investigation because he provided the New York weekly *Village Voice* with a copy of the CIA report prepared by the House Select Committee on Intelligence. The House voted January 29 to keep the revealing document under lock and key. Schorr decided "that with much of the contents already known I could not be the one responsible for suppressing the report."

What has been Schorr's reward for letting the American people read a little truth about the Central Intelligence Agency and Federal Bureau of Investigation?

• The Justice Department is looking into the possibility that Schorr may have violated federal espionage laws.

• The House "ethics" committee, aided by the FBI, is attempting to determine whether Schorr should be declared in "contempt of Congress" for releasing the report.

• CBS has relieved Schorr, an employee of twenty-four years standing,

of his reporting duties "until all Government proceedings have been resolved." In other words, he has been taken off the air.

"From the events of the past couple of weeks," Schorr told the Washington Press Club February 25, "let me report my preliminary conclusion: the joys of martyrdom are considerably overrated."

CBS knew all along that Schorr possessed a copy of the report and that he based several broadcasts on "leaks" from it. "I held up the report in my hand more than once and showed it on television and nothing happened," Schorr said.

But outright publication of the findings embarrassed both the White House and Congress, which jointly conspired to suppress the report. "The *Voice* is what I'd call at least an 'anti-establishment' paper," said an unidentified CBS senior executive. "Publication of the report there made Dan's action very political."

The attempt to railroad Schorr out of the press corps—or worse—is just one aspect of Washington's scheme to clamp down the lid on government secrets. Ever since the release of the Pentagon Papers in 1971, the White House has found itself in roughly the same predicament as the "little Dutch boy" in the childhood tale. Every time

it plugs one leak, two others spurt open somewhere else.

So finally it has come up with another solution: Try to build a better dike.

Ford has proposed legislation that would impose up to \$5,000 in fines and five years in prison on former or current government employees found guilty of disclosing "classified" information. Reporters would not be directly covered under the proposed law, but they could be declared in contempt of court if they refused to reveal their sources to grand juries or to testify against accused employees.

During the past five years Americans have learned a great deal they did not previously know about "their" government: its assassination plots; its deliberate lies about the Vietnam War; its illegal snooping and harassment activities against dissenters; the seamy details of its support to bloody, right-wing dictatorships.

And recently, with the disclosure of the House committee's findings, they have learned still more.

Confronted with all this, what is Washington's response?

A witch-hunt of Daniel Schorr.

His case deserves the support of all who defend the right of the American people to know the full truth about the crimes Washington commits in their name.



CBS reporter Daniel Schorr has become victim of government's scheme to clamp lid on secret crimes.

# 'Militant' opens doors for new SWP branches

By Pat Galligan

For members of the new Socialist Workers party Chelsea branch in New York City, selling the *Militant* was their introduction to people in the community.

Teams of socialists began canvassing the housing projects along Eighth Avenue. While visiting one of these projects—Elliot Houses—Marilyn Marcus and Steve Forgione were pleasantly surprised by the reaction of one resident.

A young Black woman opened her door and, before they could say a word, exclaimed: "The *Militant*—that's my newspaper!"

The woman, who had purchased a subscription during a previous drive, invited her visitors in to talk. The *Militant*, she said, is the only paper that "tells it like it is."

Socialists will be selling single copies and subscriptions in the Chelsea projects during the Socialist Campaign Week, March 12-20, and throughout the spring.

Dave Salner reports that the newly established San Antonio SWP branch is all prepared for the Socialist Campaign Week.



'Militant' is starting to get around in Richmond, Virginia, too.

Presidential candidate Peter Camejo begins a tour of the area on March 20 with a campaign rally. Publicizing Camejo's visit to San Antonio will be a major activity, along with sales of the *Militant*, during the week of March 12-20.

"We project sales in shopping centers and door to door in housing projects in the barrio, as well as in downtown San Antonio," writes Salner.

\* \* \*

Another 200 subscriptions came in this week, bringing the total to 500—not a bad tally considering the fact that the drive formally opens next week.

Several cities are off to a flying start. Cleveland is the front-runner with twenty-eight subscriptions. Pittsburgh is a close second with twenty-seven. Houston and Bloomington each have twenty.

When we report on *Militant* subscription sales, we often describe door-to-door canvassing, selling at plant gates and unemployment centers, and selling on campuses in dormitories and

from socialist literature tables. These organized sales activities make up an important aspect of expanding the circulation of the *Militant*, of meeting people and winning them to socialism.

But what about the people you already know? Everyone who reads the *Militant* can introduce the paper to their co-workers and friends. All it takes is a little initiative.

Here's a good example.

In St. Louis, a Black bus driver recently joined the SWP. A member of the Amalgamated Transit Workers, he is very enthusiastic about the *Militant*—so enthusiastic that he has already sold subscriptions to twelve of his friends.

\* \* \*

Don't you know someone who should be reading the *Militant* every week?

The best way to make sure that you are always prepared to sign up new *Militant* readers is to use prepaid subscription cards. Charlie Rosenberg of Louisville would probably agree. He has already mailed in five of the eleven cards we sent him a few weeks ago.

## Nat'l City officials threaten to jail Chicano voters

By Mark Schneider

NATIONAL CITY, Calif., March 1—City officials here have a "Texas Ranger mentality," charged Herman Baca, chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights.

Baca's statement came in response to the latest moves by government officials to prevent committee supporters from exercising their right to vote at the polls on March 2 in the city elections.

The Chicano group is backing a slate of independent candidates—Jesse Ramirez and Oscar Cañedo for city council, and Luis Natividad for school board.

Local election officials have threatened voters registered through the committee's efforts with three years in jail, according to reports featured in the National City *Star News*.

In a crude racist campaign to keep Chicanos away from the polls tomorrow, officials announced that they will be present at voting places to confront

voters they consider improperly registered with possible charges of perjury and casting an illegal ballot.

This threat came after the committee exposed the fact that Chicanos were being visited by government officials who claimed they were investigating voter registration irregularities.

At a news conference, Baca produced several affidavits from Chicanos charging harassment from these officials—at least one of whom, according to one affidavit, identified himself as an FBI agent.

The following day, FBI agents visited Baca. They termed the charge that FBI agents were active in the intimidation campaign "unfair," but did not deny their involvement.

The district attorney's office has admitted its investigators have been visiting Chicano voters.

The committee has called on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the California secretary of state to investigate the voter harassment. The com-

mittee has also requested that federal poll watchers be present on election day.

Don Sorsa, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in the Forty-second District, blasted what he termed "the racist move to intimidate Chicano voters from exercising their rights."

"This Chicano election campaign developed as a reaction to the brutal police killing of Luis Rivera," Sorsa said. "When officials demonstrated they would do nothing to curb police brutality, the ad hoc committee decided to replace them with representatives elected by Chicanos."

"Now these Democratic and Republican officials are showing they will stop at nothing to deny Chicanos their rights," Sorsa charged. "This is why Chicanos need their own independent party."

On February 27 Luis Natividad spoke along with Sorsa at the Militant Forum. Natividad encouraged those

present to actively work on Sorsa's campaign.

Sorsa, who has endorsed the committee-backed candidates, called for immediate and full citizenship for *mexicanos* living in the United States.

Sorsa supporters, canvassing door-to-door throughout National City, have distributed hundreds of campaign leaflets in the community. The socialist candidate is in the middle of a round of speaking engagements at area campuses.

Meanwhile, incumbent candidate Luis Camacho has made an open bid for the racist Anglo vote.

"Law and order must prevail in this city," said Camacho. "These people call themselves Chicanos. I am an American first. . . . If they love Mexico so much, why the hell don't they go back?"

The committee is exposing Camacho by distributing copies of this statement in the Chicano community.

## Librería Militante opens in NY Lower East Side

By Karen Melville

La Librería Militante, located in the predominantly Puerto Rican Lower East Side of Manhattan, officially opened its doors on Saturday, February 21.

That morning, as the staff members put the finishing touches on the window display, the first customers began to arrive.

Many were attracted by the posters proclaiming, "¡Educación Bilingüe Bicultural! Es nuestro derecho." (Bilingual-bicultural education! It is our right.) The poster is distributed by the local Socialist Workers party campaign committee.

La Librería Militante shares its offices with the Catarino Garza for Congress campaign. Some of the first people to come in were Garza supporters from the community, activists in the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, and supporters of the pro-community-control Por los Niños slate that ran for the District One school board a year ago.

One neighborhood resident came by to leave some office supplies he was donating to the bookstore.

He bought a book and a Garza for Congress button. He said that he had told a lot of people he knew about the store, and that he planned to bring some friends later in the afternoon. As he was leaving, he picked up a stack of leaflets advertising the opening of the bookstore.

A glance around *la librería* shows a variety of titles in English, Spanish, and Chinese. Topics include the history of Puerto Rico and its independence movement, community control of schools, women's liberation, the school desegregation struggle, and the labor movement.

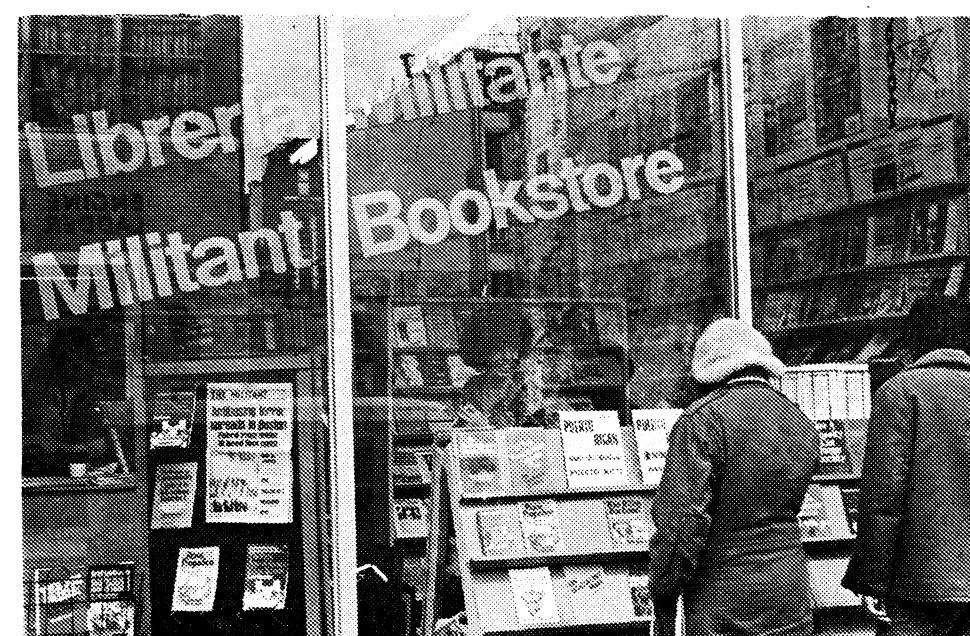
The store features books about international struggles such as *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War*, and also many classics of the Marxist movement.

Staff member Dave Keil says, "One of our first goals is to expand our Spanish and Chinese literature selections. We want to get some feedback from the people coming in about the kind of literature they'd like to see in the store."

Cónsuelo Ramírez, another staff member, said, "La Librería Militante is

the only bookstore of its kind in the Lower East Side. Before, there was no place in the neighborhood where activists could go to get the kind of literature they're interested in."

She added, "As soon as we've been open for a while we want to sponsor some classes and forums, perhaps in conjunction with some of the neighborhood groups and organizations."



La Librería Militante is located at 221 East Second Street, New York City.

# Calendar

BALTIMORE

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Featuring Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; announcement of Maryland 1976 socialist candidates. Fri., March 12. 7 p.m., open house; 8 p.m., rally. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Maryland 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

LONG BEACH

**GRAND OPENING OF SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS AND PATHFINDER BOOKSTORE.** Speakers: Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Stephanie Coontz, author, *What Socialists Stand For*. Sun., March 14. 12 noon, open house; 3 p.m., program. 3322 Anaheim St. (at Redondo). Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 California Campaign. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

NEW YORK: CHELSEA

**THE FIGHT AGAINST GOVERNMENT SPYING AND REPRESSION.** Speakers: Syd Stapleton, PRDF national secretary; New York Coalition Against S-1 representative; Puerto Rican Socialist party representative; National Conference of Black Lawyers representative; American Indian Movement representative. Fri., March 12, 8 p.m. McBurnie YMCA, 215 W. 23rd St. (7th Ave.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

PITTSBURGH

**QUALITY EDUCATION AND THE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS.** Speakers: Harold Stone, Concerned Citizens of Homewood-Brushton; Noreen Beatty, District 6 school board candidate, former parent representative; Elwin Green, Pittsburgh Student Coalition Against Racism; Paul LeBlanc, Socialist Workers District 4 school board candidate. Fri., March 12, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

RACINE-KENOSHA

**WHY WE NEED SOCIALISM.** Speaker: Bob Schwarz, Milwaukee SWP chairperson. Fri., March 12, 7:30 p.m. UW-Parkside, Classroom Building D113, Kenosha, Wis. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (414) 289-9380.

ST. LOUIS

**BLACK WOMEN'S LIBERATION.** Speakers: Olivia Calloway, National Council of Negro Women; Mary Pritchard, YSA; others. Fri., March 12, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN FRANCISCO

**WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR.** A weekly discussion of socialism. *Women's Liberation: How to Achieve It.* Sat., March 13, 3 p.m.; Wed., March

17, 7:30 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

SEATTLE

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN KICKOFF RALLY AND BANQUET.** Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; Patricia Bethard, 1975 SWP city council candidate. Sat., March 13. 6 p.m., social hour; 7 p.m., banquet; 8 p.m., rally. Immaculate Conception Church Auditorium, 820 18th Ave. Donation: \$3.50; \$1.50 for rally only. Ausp: Socialist Workers Washington State Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TACOMA

**WOMEN IN THE 1976 ELECTIONS.** Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; Stephanie Coontz, author, *What Socialists Stand For*; Patricia Bethard, 1975 SWP Seattle city council candidate. Thurs., March 11, 7:30 p.m. University of Puget Sound, 006-McIntyre. Ausp: Socialist Workers Washington State Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## ...Iran

*Continued from page 3*

other prisoners placed before her.

In another incident he saw a young man brought in, tortured for four or five hours, then dumped back in the cell totally disfigured and near death.

Baraheni also spoke in detail about the plight of oppressed ethnic groups in Iran, who comprise a majority of the population. Of the 34 million people, only 14 to 16 million are Persians, yet the Persian language is the only one allowed in schools.

Other speakers detailed aspects of U.S. complicity with the shah's regime and outlined ways to protest repression in Iran.

Eric Bentley described how the shah uses annual arts festivals to give his regime a liberal image by inviting avant-garde theater groups. He urged "my colleagues in the theater and music" to publicly refuse to take part in such shows.

Ivan Morris urged that similar boycotts be carried out by tourists.

Ramsey Clark detailed the cases of several political prisoners. He told of a producer who was sentenced to eleven years in prison for staging a play by Maxim Gorky, and an actor who was

Concerned that some newer mem-

bers of the international might be unaware of the restrictions imposed on the SWP by the Voorhis Act, Sheppard wrote to explain again that the SWP "is unable to affiliate with, accept financial support from, or contribute to the Fourth International."

Because of this, Sheppard said, the SWP used financial resources that might otherwise go to the international for such purposes as expenses for SWP leaders traveling abroad and for the distribution of Trotskyist books and pamphlets in colonial and semicolonial countries.

Thus Romerstein's most "significant" evidence proves not what he claimed, but exactly the opposite: The SWP does not violate the Voorhis Act. CAIFI's Bahram Atai explained to the audience that a group of Maoists, claiming to represent the Iranian Students Association, had attempted to disrupt several of Baraheni's recent meetings. He read a statement signed by forty individuals and organizations supporting Baraheni's right to free speech.

Atai noted that although the Maoists had asserted that Baraheni was a "traitor" and a SAVAK agent, they had produced no proof of the allegation, and their statements could only be considered scurrilous slander.

The meeting voted unanimously to support Baraheni's right to free speech, and no attempt at a disruption took place.

## ...'terrorist'

*Continued from page 5*

hundreds of nonmembers of the SWP at the convention.)

Eventually Romerstein was asked, "What evidence do you have that [the SWP] is an official section, in violation of the Voorhis Act?"

"I have two major pieces of evidence," Romerstein declared. "One: the Socialist Workers actively participated in the work of the Tenth World Congress, of the Fourth International. . ." However, he offered no evidence that this participation was anything other than the open fraternal relationship the SWP has maintained with the FI since 1940.

The second piece of evidence, he assured the committee, was "more significant." It consisted of a 1974 letter from SWP Organization Secretary Barry Sheppard to Ernest Mandel, a leader of the international.

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bers of the international might be unaware of the restrictions imposed on the SWP by the Voorhis Act, Sheppard wrote to explain again that the SWP "is unable to affiliate with, accept financial support from, or contribute to the Fourth International."

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But the investigator's fakery doesn't end there. Romerstein pretended that this letter was purloined by his own brilliant cloak-and-dagger operation. The supersleuth neglected to mention that the letter was published in a bulletin distributed in thousands of copies. What's more, it, along with hundreds of other documents, was turned over to the government by the SWP itself as part of its suit against the FBI.

It was exactly this kind of "proof" that the Pike committee found entirely worthless. In its report, the Pike committee said, "The FBI maintained that [the SWP's] disassociation with the Fourth International was merely cosmetic. However, the FBI has been unable to prove any illegal relationship between the SWP and the Fourth International." (Emphasis added.)

Romerstein's testimony ought to be required reading for all those who are involved in the fight against the FBI's wholesale assault on the Bill of Rights. It is a classic example of the kind of fraudulent justification that serves as the basis for the government's spying and harassment against the civil rights movement, antiwar activists, socialists, and many others.

It is a damning indictment, not of the SWP, but of the witch-hunters themselves, who, as Malcolm X used to say, are always trying to turn the criminal into the victim and the victim into the criminal.

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA: Tempe:** YSA, c/o Jessica Sampson, Box 2235, Scottsdale, Ariz. 85252. Tel: (602) 277-9453.

**Tucson:** YSA, SUPO Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 881-0712.

**CALIFORNIA: East Los Angeles:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

**Long Beach:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

**Los Angeles, West Side:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 11 (at Washington Square Shopping Center), Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

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**San Diego:** SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

**San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

**San Francisco, Mission District:** SWP, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

**San Jose:** SWP and YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

**Santa Barbara:** YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

**Santa Cruz:** YSA, Box 228 Kresge College, UCSC, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.

**COLORADO: Boulder:** YSA, Room 175, University Memorial Center, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 492-7679.

**Denver:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825; YSA—(303) 893-8360.

**Fort Collins:** YSA, 325 E. Myrtle, Ft. Collins, Colo. 80521.

**FLORIDA: Tallahassee:** YSA, c/o Dave Bouffard, 754 El Rancho, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

**GEORGIA: Atlanta:** Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. NE, Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP

and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**ILLINOIS: Champaign-Urbana:** YSA, 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

**Chicago, South Side:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 1754 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5220.

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**INDIANA: Bloomington:** YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**Indianapolis:** YSA, c/o Student Activity Office, IUPUI, 925 W. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 783-5163.

**Muncie:** YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

**KANSAS: Lawrence:** YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Sunflower Apts. #23, Lawrence, Kans. 66044.

**KENTUCKY: Lexington:** YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

**Louisville:** YSA, Box 3593, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

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**MARYLAND: Baltimore:** SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668.

**MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst:** YSA, c/o Mark Ceroulo, 13 Hollister Apts., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

**Boston:** SWP and YSA, Militant Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050; YSA—(617) 482-8051. Viewpoint/New England and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052. Militant Books—(617) 338-8560.

**Worcester:** YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

**MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor:** YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

**Detroit:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 6404 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48202. Tel: (313) 873-8836.

**East Lansing:** YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

**OHIO: Cincinnati:** YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227. Tel: (513) 272-2596.

**Cleveland:** SWP and YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

**Columbus:** YSA, Box 3343 Univ. Station (mailing address); 325 Ohio Union, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 422-6287.

**Kalamazoo:** YSA, c/o Andy Robins or Dave Evans, Box 125 Union Desk, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

**MT. Pleasant:** YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

**MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul:** SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

**MISSOURI: Kansas City:** YSA, c/o UMKC Student Activities Office, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

**St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

**NEW JERSEY: Newark:** SWP and YSA, 11-A Central Ave. (Central and Broad Streets), Second Floor, Newark, N.J. 07102. Tel: (201) 624-7434.

**NEW YORK: Albany:** YSA, c/o Gary

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by Evelyn Reed. 491 pp., cloth \$15.00, paper \$4.95

**WHY WOMEN NEED THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT**  
by Dianne Feeley. 32 pp., 35 cents

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by Linda Jenness et al. 24 pp., 35 cents

**FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM**  
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**ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE**  
by Frederick Engels. 191 pp., paper \$2.25

**PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION**  
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**CHICANAS SPEAK OUT—Women: New Voice of La Raza**  
by Mirta Vidal. 16 pp., 35 cents

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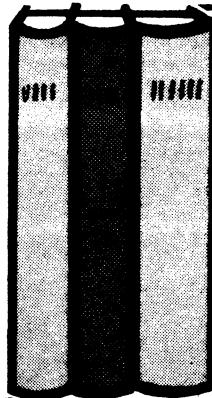
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From Pathfinder Press

# Angola

## The Hidden History of Washington's War

Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas

Edited with an introduction by Malik Miah



The United States has fought against Angolan independence for decades—through the CIA and NATO, with military and economic aid to Portugal and South Africa, and by intervention into the civil war.

*Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War* is the first book to provide a socialist analysis of the civil war and imperialist intervention in Angola. Part I, by Ernest Harsch, details the background of the factional struggle and the social forces involved. He carefully documents the extent and character of United States, Portuguese, and South African intervention, and analyzes the origin and evolution of each of the major nationalist organizations.

The position taken by revolutionary socialists on the events in Angola is elaborated in Part II. It includes a report given by Tony Thomas to the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in January 1976, and a statement adopted by that body.

Tony Thomas and Malik Miah are touring the United States and Canada speaking on the independence struggle and the civil war. Their tour is part of the continuing campaign by the Socialist Workers Party against U.S. intervention.

3 Maps, 160 pages, cloth \$9, paper \$2.45

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# THE MILITANT

## Mexican workers victimized

# Supreme Court OKs racist anti-'alien' law

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The Supreme Court dealt *mexicanos* and Chicanos a cruel blow when it upheld a reactionary California law making it an offense for employers to "knowingly" hire so-called illegal aliens.

On February 25, the high court ruled 8 to 0 that the California Court of Appeals had been in error when it struck down the Arnett Law, named after Assemblyman Dixon Arnett, who sponsored the reactionary measure in the California legislature.

The law is designed to increase the victimization and exploitation of workers without citizenship papers, not to provide additional jobs for U.S. workers as its backers claim. It will also contribute to further discrimination against Chicanos and anyone else in California who may look Mexican.

From the employers' point of view, the measure is as full of holes as the proverbial piece of Swiss cheese.

It provides for fines of \$200 to \$500 each for "knowingly" hiring workers who are not citizens or legal residents "if such employment would have an adverse effect on lawful resident workers."

A reasonably skilled lawyer wouldn't have much trouble walking through either the "knowingly" loophole or the one about "adverse effect."

Revival of the law will also give added impetus to the effort to push the pending Kennedy-Rodino bill through Congress. Similar to the Arnett Law, Kennedy-Rodino has passed the House and is pending in the Senate.

Ironically, the Supreme Court decision upholding the Arnett statute is based on an appeal made in 1972 on behalf of two California farm workers by the California Rural Legal Assistance.

According to the CRLA, a federally funded poverty agency, the two workers had lost their field jobs to "illegal aliens." They asked the Supreme Court to correct this by validating the Arnett Law.

Now some in the CRLA are having second thoughts. One of the agency's lawyers told reporters he hoped the law would not be used against those "who have been here for a long time and have families here."

"No one wants to see men with families thrown out of jobs, or deported," he said. "So I hope the state sees fit to enforce this selectively."

He can be assured that the law will be enforced "selectively." But the selectivity will not be determined by the needs of undocumented workers and their families, but—as always—by the needs and interests of the employers.

The Arnett Law is simply one more regulator to better control the flow across the border and increase even further the vulnerability of the cruelly abused workers without citizenship papers.



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Supreme Court approval of law against hiring workers without immigration papers means greater victimization for all Chicanos and mexicanos.

When there is a shortage of low-paid labor, the border cops will still look the other way as undocumented workers slip across the border. And when there is a surplus—as there is now, with California unemployment officially estimated at 10 percent—the border controls will be tightened and the deportations stepped up.

One particularly invidious aim of the Arnett Law is to further pit "legal" workers against "illegals." Hopefully, this will not be as easily achieved as was thought when the bill was approved in 1971.

At that time, for example, the leadership of the United Farm Workers supported the measure under the mistaken notion that it could help in coping with the problem of undocumented workers being used to help

thwart unionization of California field hands.

Later, the UFW leadership reversed its stand and declared its opposition to the federal Rodino bill. For a period in 1974, UFW leader César Chávez again called for deportation of undocumented workers. But since then the union has taken a progressive stand on the issue.

In the struggle waged around the union representation elections in the California fields, the UFW has offered solidarity to undocumented workers and has sought to defend them against the employers and *la migra*, the hated Immigration officials. Undocumented workers, in return, have been an important factor in recent UFW victories at the polls.

Responding to the present Supreme Court decision, Chávez said he was not impressed by it and noted that the

UFW had not been party to the suit from which it stemmed.

The real problem, Chávez said, is the collusion between Immigration officials and growers and the "harassment and racial discrimination" practiced against both Mexican nationals and Chicanos.

The Supreme Court decision was vigorously denounced by the National Congress of Hispanic American Citizens, a coalition opposed to the Rodino bill. Manuel Fierro, president of the congress, branded the Arnett statute "one of the most racist and discriminatory statutes I've heard of."

The high court action was also assailed by Omari Musa, the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. senator from California.

Musa branded the decision "an attack on all working people." He said, "It pins the blame for unemployment on undocumented workers instead of on the greed of the big corporations, where it really belongs."

Musa said he will press for a halt to all deportations and for a defense of the rights of undocumented workers by all of organized labor.

He predicted the court decision would reactivate the antideportation movement. An important focus for Chicanos and others defending the rights of undocumented workers, he said, could be a drive for repeal of the Arnett Law.

Reiterating the charge that undocumented workers are being made the scapegoat for the current high jobless rate, Musa pointed to recent disclosures exposing the propaganda myth that these workers take good-paying jobs from U.S. workers and that they are a burden on taxpayers.

Musa cited a stunt pulled by U.S. officials last June and how it blew up in their faces.

That month, *la migra* rounded up 2,154 "illegal aliens" in Los Angeles shops, leaving an equal number of job openings. Cooperating state employment officials promptly contacted the bosses who had just lost their workers. A solid 99 percent laughed in their face when offered unemployed U.S. workers to be hired at regular wages.

Of 190,000 employed workers deported to Mexico from the Southwest in 1975, Musa recalled, 134,000 were earning less than \$2.50 an hour. "And the fact is," he added, "undocumented workers pay all kinds of taxes and get nothing in return."

He pointed out that during the first five months of last year, Los Angeles County welfare officials checked out 14,000 alien welfare recipients. They found but 56 who were here without documents.

"The undocumented workers," Musa said, "are a prime example of what Malcolm X meant when he said this system specializes in making the criminal the victim and the victim the criminal."